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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1777



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS, FINLANDIZATION NOTED

Paris LE FIGARO in French 28 Jan 80 p 3

[Article by Bernard Margueritte: "Perturbation and Malaise in Eastern Europe"]

[Text] In the socialist Central European countries--and especially in the two most attached to detente, Poland and Hungary--the heavy tension recorded currently in East-West relations has given rise to feelings of perturbation, malaise and concern over the future. In fact, people are more and more aware in those countries that the decade of the 1980's runs a strong risk of being marked by a steadily increasing divergence between the economic, ideological and political interests of the Soviet Union on the one hand and of the "fraternal countries" of Eastern Europe on the other.

1. The policy of reforms and search for economic effectiveness. During the 1970's Gierek's Poland utilized all the reserves it had available: its positive demographic situation (2,500,000 new jobs), Western credit call ups, development of investments and modernizing of industry, a situation still favorable to East-West trade. Today, all of that is finished: Manpower is lacking, indebtedness has reached serious proportions (about \$20 billion) and and it has been necessary to come down to an austerity policy.

In other words everyone realizes--the leaders say so themselves--that there is no longer any possible way out: During the 1980's it will be necessary to move from an extensive economy to an intensive economy, the only way to maintain an acceptable growth rate being to step up economic effectiveness. But that means grappling with the system's ills and being committed to a policy of gradual reforms.

This acknowledgment of the facts is of course not one to enthuse communist leaders who hoped to be able to reconcile maintaining the centralized and bureaucratic system controlled by the party and economic progress. Today that dream has collapsed: It was wishing to reconcile the irreconcilable. Now a choice must be made.

Theoretically, of course, one could choose ideological dogmatism to the detriment of economic progress. That is possible for the Soviet Union where the standard of living is still modest, where the population, ill-informed as to what is going on in the world, compares its situation with that of the Soviets of 15 or 30 years ago and not with that of the inhabitants of other countries. Furthermore, the Russian people find some satisfaction in the simulation of the nationalist ideas of great powers. None of that exists in Eastern Europe. A consumer society is already well rooted in them. The largely Western way of life solidly implanted.

A Western Tradition

In that respect the point of no return was reached long ago. The leaders, particularly in Poland and Hungary, but certainly tomorrow throughout Eastern Europe, cannot permit themselves to give up a policy of well-being and reforms if they do not wish to run the risk of serious upheavals. That growing gap between the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe should not surprise Marxists: The infrastructure having evolved far more quickly in the latter sector's small countries, is it not normal for political and ideological differences to follow? The communist leaders themselves must after all take into account the sociological and economic unwieldiness.

In that domain the choice for the Eastern European countries in the 1980's is a very simple one: Either to diverge more and more sharply from the "Soviet model," or run the risk of adventures and dramas of an incalculable scope.

2. Respect for human and citizens' rights: The Sakharov affairs seems to herald a new Soviet hardening on the issue of respect for individual freedoms. The Kremlin can doubtless offer itself the luxury of stepping up its policy of coercion: The dissidents are still playing only a limited role in Soviet society, public opinion remains largely apathetic and the country furthermore has no democratic tradition whatsoever.

Now, on that point too the situation is basically different in Eastern Europe: By their history and civilization those countries are linked to Western democratic tradition. The dissident movement in them is strong and moreover enjoys relative tolerance in states such as Poland and Hungary. To want to return to neo-Stalinism would definitely lead to major jolts. To take just one example, how could the Poles and Hungarians accept no longer being able to travel east and west as freely as they have been doing for some years?

After all, to revert in Poland to a policy of coercion would mean an open conflict with an all-powerful Catholic Church with all of the attendant consequences. And what is more--and that is perhaps the most fundamental element --without internal democratization the indispensable policy of economic reform would have no chance at all of succeeding.

So the choice is the same in that sphere: Stand aloof from Moscow or run the risk of an adventure.

The Finlandization of Europe

3. The Policy of Detente and East-West Cooperation: For the Soviet Union detente is only an instrument with an over-all political aim which--as is seen today--can be abandoned without hindrance if strategy so requires. Now, that is not the case of Poland for example. This country, which fell into the communist camp following historic operations, is linked to the West by its whole civilization and culture. For it the policy of detente is a vital necessity: It enables it to remain loyal to its alliances while at the same time developing its traditional bonds with the West. After all, today, given Poland's and Hungary's economic interdependence with the Western countries, they could not give up detente without heading toward a catastrophe.

That is furthermore what the Poles are repeatedly saying these days to anyone willing to hear it, and especially to the French: There is no question of our giving up detente. "On the contrary," another personality told me, "we are getting ready to take a series of initiatives intended to counterbalance the threats hanging over detente."

Thus the Poles are circumspectly wondering about the viability of a three-point Soviet foreign policy: Aggression wherever possible, a cold war with the United States and maintenance of detente with Europe. Does that, they wonder, provide us some room for maneuvering? Of course, people in Budapest and in Warsaw eagerly note signs seeming to indicate that Western Europe is not giving up detente and yet there are mixed feelings on that subject: The Poles in fact fear nothing more than they do the Finlandization of Western Europe. If this Soviet goal were attained, the Poles' hopes of being liberated even very slightly some day from Soviet tutelage would be finished forever. Moreover, people in Warsaw emphasize the fact that Poland for its part means to pursue detente with the West as a whole and not only in Europe. A prominent member of Polish diplomacy told me in this connection: "We intend to pursue our policy of good relations with the United States. We see no reason to give up that policy."

Consequently, there again the interests of the Kremlin and those of Eastern Europe are diverging more and more. In other words, an analysis shows that in practically all spheres this diverging is going to be the key element during the decade of the 1980's. The positive side of this phenomenon is obvious, but it is not the only one. There is also a potential factor for instability. Will the West know how to play this card with the necessary flexibility and precautions? Will the countries of Eastern Europe know how to make their voices heard with enough firmness to avoid either an internal adventure or that of conflicts with Moscow? "Clan rivalries in the Kremlin," a Polish expert on international relations told me, "are fortunately increasing our margin for maneuvering." Will the Soviets themselves manage to opt for increased specific differences within the socialist community rather than for all the risks of dangerous confrontations?

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

GDR TRIP ATTACKED--Tirana, March 22 (ATA)--General commander of the Warsaw Treaty Armed Forces, the Soviet Marshal Kulikov, went of late to East Germany where according to reports, he had talks with senior officials, Honecker included, about the mounting military potential of this bloc. During the recent weeks this emissary of the Soviet social-imperialists has undertaken a tour of the capitals of the Eastern Europe "ally" countries, Bulgaria, Hungary, etc., where in the centre of the conducted talks the main problem has always been that of the further strengthening of the military potential of the Warsaw Treaty. At the same time the tour of the Moscow's military envoy aims at strengthening the social-imperialist dictate on the vassals. The feverish diplomatic military activity of the Soviet social imperialists in Eastern Europe is being accompanied with stale demagogic propaganda that allegedly the strengthening of the Warsaw Treaty serves "the defence" of "the socialist community," that it is closely linked with "detente" and "peace" in the world. But time has clearly shown that the Warsaw Treaty does not serve peace, but the war, that its strengthening is closely linked with the preparation on the part of Soviet social imperialism of fresh armed aggressions against the sovereign peoples and countries. The fascist occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet social imperialists once more revealed their true countenance of an aggressor and bilit. [Text]
[AU221048 Tirana ATA in English 0945 GMT 22 Mar 80 AU]

CSO: 2020

ALBANIA

'ATA' DENOUNCES ASEAN PACT AS TOOL OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

AU181120 Tirana ATA in English 0908 GMT 18 Mar 80 AU

["ASEAN-reactionary Pact in Service of American Imperialism"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, March 18 (ATA)--All the activity of ASEAN since its inception, and in particular recently, clearly proves that it is a reactionary organisation in service of American imperialism, a tool to preserve and strengthen the positions of big American and international capital in that region with great natural assets and of strategic importance, where the hegemonic rivalry between the two superpowers is mounting. The political and military activity of this organisation has been orientated in particular in the suppression of the national-liberation struggles of the peoples of that region. Numerous facts of cooperation of the reactionary regimes of its member countries in the suppression of the struggles of the patriots in the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia and other countries of that region, clearly testify to this.

The anti-people regimes in the ASEAN member countries have fully attached themselves after the U.S. chariot and have placed themselves at the service of the aggressive and warmongering strategy of U.S. imperialism. In these countries the American imperialists have big military bases, which have always been used against the liberation struggles of the peoples of Indochina. The U.S.A. constantly supplies these countries with armaments and this year it will increase by 3 percent its military aid for them.

Recently, when the clashes between the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists for spheres of influence and hegemony in various regions of the world, South-east Asia included, have become fiercer, the U.S.A. has multiplied its efforts for the intensification of the political and military activity of the ASEAN Pact. An evidence to this is also the tour of this region of the envoy of U.S. State Department Halbrooke and the commander of the aggressive U.S. troops in the Pacific, Admiral Long. These envoys sought from the reactionary regimes of the region to increase and coordinate still more their activity with that of American imperialism.

The Chinese social-imperialists, too, have openly come out in support of this reactionary organisation. In conformity with their expansionist ambitions in Southeast Asia and as an obligation towards the alliance with

American imperialism, they are making haste to strengthen their ties with the anti-people and fascist regimes of that area: The frequent visits the envoys of Beijing, as is the case of the present visit of the Foreign Minister Huang Hua, to various countries of ASEAN, serve this aim. On their part, the Soviet social-imperialists are flirting with the reactionary regimes of these countries trying to draw profits from such a thing and to increase their presence in that area.

But the support and close cooperation with the imperialist and social-imperialist powers is ever more exposing the reactionary regimes of the ASEAN member countries, is increasing the flames of the liberation struggle of the patriots and the anti-imperialist sentiments of the peoples of these countries.

CSO: 2020

ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION ON NEW PENAL CODE

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 26 Jan 80 pp 1, 2

[Roundtable discussion by Eleni Selenica, Abaz Brati, Elham Gjika and Pellumb Bataj: "The Law Which Expresses the Interests of the Working Class and Our Working Masses"]

[Text] To become better acquainted with the content, significance and tasks which the new Penal Procedure Code provides, a meeting was organized at the editorial offices by our editor Pellumb Bataj with Comrades Eleni Selenica, member of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and Deputy Chairperson of the Supreme Court of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Abaz Brati, Deputy Attorney General of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and Elham Gjika, director of the Directorate of Investigation in the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Comrade Eleni Selenica: The approval of the new Penal Procedure Code is an extension of the work initiated to implement Comrade Enver Hoxha's recommendation and the important task which the Seventh Party Congress provided in connection with the further improvement of our socialist legislation, so that it will better correspond to the demands of the present phase of socialist construction in our country and defending it against internal and external enemies.

The approval of this law which is promulgated on the basis of and for implementation of the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which is guided by the party's policies and is based on the ideology of the working class, on Marxism-Leninism, expressing the will of the working class and the other working masses, constitutes another important vehicle of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The rich experience assembled by the organs of investigation, prosecution and justice during the many years of use of the existing Penal Code, and the profound revolutionary changes which have been made in the field of justice during the years of our people's government were all taken into consideration in the formulation of the new Penal Procedure Code.

It is known that criminality and other violations of the law in our country are alien phenomena. They are never a product of our economic and social system but a result of imperialist and revisionist encirclement, the ideological pressure which the bourgeoisie and the revisionists exercise over us, the existence of various vestiges in peoples' awareness, and occasionally they are the result of shortcomings in the organization of day-to-day work by workers and state and social organs, and inadequate work in the education of certain unstable elements of our society with the party line and the norms of the communist morale. However, under the party's guidance we have consistently made a broad and systematic effort to prevent crime and other violations of the law. The struggle to prevent crime and everything negative is in the very nature of our social system, an organic function of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the duty of all, which is realized under the party's leadership. Relying also on the positive experience gained up to now, the Penal Procedure Code provides for the first time such procedural standards that compel the office of investigation and the court to subject their activity of investigating and judging every penal case to a carefully studied plan which clearly defines the duties which are intended to accomplish the two special functions which the party has assigned to the organs of investigation and justice.

The correct implementation of these compulsory procedural standards requires not only political and ideological maturity of workers at the organs of investigation and justice, but also high professional training. These are likewise closely related to other legal obligations provided by the Penal Procedure Code, such as reporting to interested organs or organizations and to workers' collectives the results of investigations and shortcomings which have had an influence on the commission of penal acts, and proposing specific measures to eliminate them. On the other hand, the provisions of Article 161 of the Penal Procedure Code give the right and at the same time obliges the court, along with the final decision, when appropriate, to reach a special decision in which it analyses the significant shortcomings and deficiencies in the activity of enterprises, institutions or social organizations which have been influential in the commission of penal acts and requires that they take appropriate steps to remedy the situation. Likewise, the setting of a one-month deadline by which the pertinent organs are required to respond to the court, these all have a profound preventative character and serve the party's general work for the education of every citizen with the norms of the communist morale and the sense of rigorous respect for our revolutionary laws.

The court workers, aware of their important tasks in dispensing justice and in the struggle to prevent crime and other violations of the law, under the leadership of the party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, will raise their ideopolitical and professional level higher and will increase their demand for the defense and implementation of socialist law, thus making their contribution in the development of the struggle against penal acts and the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat so Albania may stand as a rock of granite and the invincible fortress of socialism.

Comrade Abaz Brati: Reflecting objective reality at the present stage of the revolutionary development of society, the new Penal Procedure Code is a logical extension of the previous code, but qualitatively of a higher level because it faithfully expresses the deep changes which have occurred in our economic base, in the political and social life of the country under the conditions of harsh imperialist and revisionist encirclement and the bitter class struggle on both a national and international level. It is therefore a result of deep changes achieved in our country under the party's leadership for the socialist construction of the country.

Being a powerful weapon in the hands of the socialist state in the struggle domestic and foreign enemies whose socially dangerous and illegal actions seriously affect our socialist order, the new Penal Procedure Code has the important principle of socialist law running through all of its various formulas and dispositions. In this important situation, it conforms to the teachings of Comrade Enver, that the party's policy and socialist law are inseparable from each other; to the contrary, they operate in unity because they are based on the Marxist-Leninist ideology and are aimed at achieving common goals.

The regulations established in the Penal Procedure Code are mandatory for all, for the organs of investigation, prosecution and justice as well as for the other participants in this process. This guarantees true socialist justice and court decisions based on law, such that no citizen can be subjected to legal processing and conviction without being guilty of having committed a penal act. Precisely in this fundamental aspect of its content lies the basic characteristic of the structure of all of the new code's dispositions and, as an expression of the will of the working class and the other working masses, makes it radically different from the codes of the bourgeois states and the countries ruled by the revisionist cliques which, to protect the interests of the exploiting minorities and to crush every progressive movement and thought, are based on force, arbitrariness and unlawfulness in all actions they perform.

The new Penal Procedure Code is guided in its structure by a fixed position of participants in the process. Defining the place and the role of each and the rights and obligations which they have in the activity that they exercise in dispensing justice, the new code makes it possible for the actions performed not only to be implemented precisely, but also to be controlled from the standpoint of their legality and foundation. For this purpose, in keeping with the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which charges the organs of prosecution with control over the implementation of laws by all state organs and social organizations, the new code sanctions the Leninist principle that, as opposed to the organs of investigation and the courts, which have administrative authority, the prosecution organ has no such authority, that the only right and duty of this organ is to supervise, to establish a truly identical legal system everywhere, striking down every act or action which is inconsistent with the demands of the law. As opposed to the previous code, this greatly

strengthens the role of the prosecution organ in the control of the implementation of the law, the better and timely realization of it without any shirking of tasks which have been assigned to organs of investigation and the court in defending against any infringement of the socialist social order, and in educating citizens with the sense of precise following of the law and respect for socialist law.

Comrade Elham Gjika: The new Penal Procedure Code, following the new Penal Code, is a powerful means for accomplishing tasks which the party has assigned to Internal Affairs organs as a whole and to the investigation organ in particular, in a struggle against penal acts for the protection of victories of our people's revolution, for building socialism and for the defense of the fatherland.

The penal procedure legislation, having the task to insure the just and timely investigation and adjudication of penal acts, in a struggle against manifestations of bureaucratism and liberalism, at the same time achieves another great goal of all investigative and judicial activity: the prevention of criminal acts and a positive influence on the education of citizens with the spirit of respect for socialist law.

Starting with Comrade Enver's teaching that the mobilization of all is essential in the struggle against crime and that the struggle to prevent crime is an organic function not only of the courts, prosecutors and Internal Affairs organs but also of state and economic organs and mass organizations, the new Penal Procedure Code has dispositions which charge both the organs of justice and the other organs and organizations with special tasks. Such are those for attracting worker collectives to assist in investigations, courts organized before the masses, the forming of conclusions from investigation at the workers collective where the penal act occurred or where the persons who committed these acts live, the presentation of shortcomings, deficiencies and problems which emerge during the investigation and judgement of penal matters by the investigator or court to state organs, social organizations or workers collectives, etc.

Article 64 of the new Penal Procedure Code states: "Every institution or organization, as well as every citizen, has the right and the obligation to make disclosures regarding the commission of a penal act to the court, to the Internal Affairs organs, to the local government organs and to the commands of military units." Such development of the problem indicates clearly the role which the various enterprises, institutions or organizations, as well as citizens, play in the timely detection and striking down of penal acts, something which speaks clearly of their participation in the development of the class struggle against crime and in the struggle to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and our socialist order.

This code charges the Internal Affairs organs with special tasks regarding cooperation with the chairman, the secretary and, in their absence, the members of the village people's council, as well as the commands of military

units which, when the people's police are not present, are to take full measures to preserve the scene of the crime, to collect and secure material evidence and to discover other evidence when a penal act has been committed in the territory under their purview.

Naturally, to do this the need arises for the Internal Affairs organs, the organs of the court and the district attorney to organize a special effort with those persons and organs to whom the procedural law assigns competency which is of great importance for the success of the investigative and legal process, for discovering the objective truth and for crowning the struggle against penal acts with success.

This law is another clear expression of socialist democracy in our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It hopefully sanctions the halt of every type of physical and psychic force during the investigation and judgment of penal cases against guilty parties and contains a number of other dispositions which categorically guarantee the halt of unjust proceedings or punishment.

The Internal Affairs organs, guided by the party, in cooperation with the other organs of justice, are making a thorough effort to become better aware of the dispositions which this code contains, with the goal of implementing its dispositions rigorously and justly, to strike down and prevent in time every hostile and wrongful activity and to constantly strengthen our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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CSO: 2100

ALBANIA

'TIRANA RADIO' REPORTS ON NATIONAL HYDROLOGY CONFERENCE

AU242124 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 24 Mar 80 AU

[Summary] A national conference on hydrology opened at the Cultural Palace in Tirana today. The conference is organized by Tirana University in cooperation with the Academy of Sciences, the Ministry of Construction and the Ministry of Agriculture. Attending were heroes of socialist labor, vanguard workers, scientific research workers, teachers, engineers and others. Also attending were "Comrades Hekuran Isai, Spiro Koleka and Qirjako Mihali; Themel Thomaj, minister of agriculture; Tefta Cami, minister of education and culture; Gaqo Nesho, first secretary of the Tirana District Party Committee; Prof Aleks Buda, chairman of the Academy of Sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and leading cadres from central departments and institutes."

Rahman Hanku, minister of construction, delivered the opening speech. "He stressed," among other things, "that the conference was convened within the framework of intensifying the scientific-technical revolution in the field of studying, planning and constructing hydrological projects. In the years of the people's regime under the leadership of the party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, great successes have been achieved in constructing draining and irrigation projects, harbors and hydroelectric power stations." With selfless efforts of the people, the party's magnificent program for the country's electrification, Rahman Hanku said, has been successfully fulfilled. The successful construction of the Vau I Dejes and the Fierze hydroelectric power stations were a great school for educating our workers and cadres in a revolutionary spirit and improving their scientific-technical skill. Our future task is to further the achievements.

A number of reports on development of studies and improvement of our hydroelectric power stations, development of planning and construction of draining and irrigation projects and so on were then delivered at the conference.

The conference will continue its proceedings tomorrow.

BRIEFS

RITA MARKO ACTIVITIES--The Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions and the Ministry of Industry and Mining organized a meeting of distinguished oil industry workers [place unspecified]. The meeting was attended by chief and master drillers, well engineers and foremen, heroes of socialist labor and vanguard workers. The meeting was also attended by Rita Marko, chairman of the Central Council of Albanian Trade Unions, leading party and state cadres and others. Hysni Frakulla, director of the Geological Directorate for Oil, delivered a report on "the achievements and experience attained in improving the drilling indexes in our country." The meeting was also addressed by drilling experts on their own vanguard experience in drilling technology. The meeting discussed ways and means of disseminating advanced experience along the lines of the schools for the study and dissemination of science in the agricultural sector. Honor scrolls were distributed to meritorious workers and brigades. The meeting was also addressed by Rita Marko. [AU212030 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 21 Mar 80 AU]

PAKISTANI OFFICIAL GREFTED--Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following telegram to Mohammad Ziaul Haq, president of the Islami Republic of Pakistan: On the occasion of Pakistan's national holiday, it is my pleasure, in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and myself personally, to convey to you best wishes for the progress of your country and the happiness of the people of Pakistan. May the friendly relations between our two peoples and countries also develop in the future. [Text] [AU212019 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 21 Mar 80 AU]

BANGLADESH OFFICIAL GREETED--Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following telegram to Ziaur Rahman, president of the People's Republic of Bangladesh: On the occasion of Bangladesh's national holiday, on behalf of the Albanian people, the People's Assembly Presidium and myself, it is my pleasure to express best wishes for the prosperity of the people of Bangladesh. [Text] [AU251956 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 25 Mar 80 AU]

WASHINGTON, LONDON: OMANI AID--Tirana, March 20 ATA--Engaging themselves in the bitter rivalry for domination in the Persian Gulf and in all the region of the Middle East and increasing their military presence in this region, the two superpowers are constantly activating the regimes at their service. In this framework, the U.S. imperialists are attaching special attention to the reactionary regime of Oman. It is reported that Washington and London will soon give to the Sultan Qabus of Oman an aid to the tune of 300 million dollars. Actually, the regime of Sultan Qabus remains one of the most powerful bases of imperialism in the Arabian Peninsula. Now the British and U.S. imperialists are working for the modernisation of the great base in the Masir Island. It is precisely that base from which the British troops helped the sultan to stamp out the struggle by the Omani patriots. At present, apart from the British military specialists, who command the sultan's army, 1,800 U.S. marines will be stationed in this country. This military build up testifies to the fact that the U.S. imperialists, just as their rival, the Soviet social-imperialists, are trying by means of the force of arms, to impose on the people of this region their aggressive policy. [Text] [AU201100 Tirana ATA in English 0927 GMT 20 Mar 80 AU]

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

OFFICER TRAINING COOPERATION WITH INDUSTRY VIEWED

Brno ROVNOST in Czech 16 Feb 80 Supplement p 1

[Article by Miroslav Suchanek: "Battles Not Marked On Military Maps"]

[Excerpt] The two military training centers in the area have a specific mission: to train army officers both as military commanders as well as specialized military engineers. The Ground Forces War College in Vyskov, Moravia, and the Antonin Zapotocky Military Academy have been connected with Brno for almost 30 years.

All the tankists at the firing line are junior lieutenants. They pore over their maps for a while and then scrutinize the terrain through powerful binoculars. In the meantime one group is always loading shells into the tanks. At this moment, however, the loading appears to be somewhat tense, kind of ceremonial. Junior Lieutenant, Jiri Padrtka happens to be the last of the gunners undergoing the practical part of the prescribed official test in "Weapons and Firing."

A few minutes ago he was standing alone in tall dry grass peering some 1,500 meters straight ahead. There somewhere is the first target. And some more behind it. Two other junior lieutenants who had already taken their turn in firing the guns call to him: "It's there all right, Jirka." But at this moment one can see nothing. Not until the target begins to move, turns 90 degrees facing the gunner and stays in this position for a few seconds. During these few seconds the gunner must spot it, aim and score a hit. Afterwards the model target tank turns again, sideways to the gunner and then turns into a 3 cm wide bar. This and similar movements of the model target tank had to be faced by all the students during this firing practice.

However, Lt. Padrtka's assignment is a little more difficult. A strong wind on the upland plateau occasionally blows like a storm. Accompanied by exploding shells, the wind lifts huge clouds of dust which hang over the landscape like a veil. It is not easy to spot the target in this yellowish "fog." The situation is difficult but realistic. Nevertheless, it is taken for granted that a hit is scored with the first round fired.

That, at least, is the object of the training program for the combat units. The new officers, therefore, must master it while still in training.

The exciting seconds have now begun. The first round is fired and on the way to the target. The discharge offers a unique optical effect: a long flash at the mouth of the mighty cannon's barrel instantly becomes a ball of flame mixed with white smoke and orange dust. The tank drives through all this and the junior lieutenant then immediately takes aim at another target. The third discharge already sounds as from far away, whereupon one also can hear some dull machine gun fire, as if a couple of woodpeckers were at work.

But, for a while, let us leave the color and sound effect of the firing practice. We have an opportunity to take a look at the notes of the instructor, Lt.Col. Ing. Bukvald. It seems that everything is fine because all the targets were hit by the first rounds fired at them. A commission had verified it.

"Following theoretical instruction in ballistics and weapon construction, the students carry out actual firing practice in the terrain. This is a consequent application of practical experience of the Soviet military training centers with corresponding results," comments the instructor about the firing chart.

By now the tank has returned and the junior lieutenant hurries to the control tower to survey the target area through his binoculars.

The junior lieutenant counts his hits once more while the other students are telling the instructors and commission members about their impressions of acting as gunners.

Once attached to the combat units, these officers will perform the role of a gunner only in unusual circumstances, but, nevertheless, they must be able to handle the weapon even better than the best gunners in their units. This is because they themselves will have to create their best gunners by training those ordinary clumsy boys who twice a year are called up for military service and attached to their units. They will teach them to hit the target with the first round fired, just like they themselves did it here now. Young men themselves, they will help their younger soldiers find the right place on the right side in this class-conscious world.

The work of an officer is very lively as well as creative, demanding independent and clear decision making. After all, a commanding officer in charge of a tank or rocket company, or bridge construction, is not just constructing bridge or hitting targets. Through his personality, his know-how and his actions he is molding the young soldier.

None of the battles are documented by markings on military maps because they were fought mostly in the calmness of the study rather than on battle fields. And still, all of them required tenacious searching efforts, in spite of the fact that the prosaic everyday problems were the reason why the departments of the military academy in Brno got involved in the battle for coal.

To start with, the department of electronics received a request from the Ostrava-Karvina Coal Mines to design an electronic monitor of coal mine gases in order to improve the safety of coal miners' work. The task was executed well and in the time requested.

Then the frosty weather arrived and suddenly the availability of large capacity mining and transporting equipment became more acute than hitherto. However, the specialists from the department of statics and mechanics already had all the figures ready for constructing a coal excavator with a capacity of 10,000 cubic meters per hour. The excavator was then constructed in the Vitkovice Iron Works according to the calculations supplied by the military training center. Also, before the machine was put in operation at the Maxim Gorkij Coal Mine, the department carried out the necessary steel construction tests, using special rocket motors. The fastening of the joints of the rocket motors alone represented a technically daring undertaking, because in a split of a second each rocket develops a pull equivalent to 1 ton. Nevertheless, the 30 rocket motors precisely verified the capabilities of the construction and the machine could start to operate at full capacity.

Regarding the machine performance, the management of the coal mine publicly acknowledged that the military academy had contributed to the development of a more efficient method of locating new coal deposits.

The rocket motors were also used to verify the calculations for construction of a bridge on the express highway near Velke Mezirici, construction of the span bridge over the Prague-Center RR station and construction of a bridge over the Danube river in Bratislava, etc.

But by this time the military academy in Brno had already received a new request concerning production of coke in Ostrava.

From the coke ovens the produced fuel is being carried by transporters to the railway cars and, in spite of efficient cooling systems, it does happen sometimes at every coke oven in the world, that a portion of the coke is still too hot after passing through the cooling equipment. A free access of fresh air then gradually increases the heat until the whole load ignites. The work stops and fire fighting begins.

The department of artillery and optics, which now also incorporates infratechnology, was assigned the task of preventing these fires.

For this purpose the military academy developed a radiometer for contactless temperature measuring which is capable of detecting every infrared ray emitted by heat but imperceptible to the naked eye.

Now the coke carriers are under constant surveillance by special infra-cameras, so that if abnormally high temperature is registered, the cameras will automatically bring the fire fighting equipment in action.

The coke fires have stopped.

The main task of the military academy in Brno, naturally, is to train qualified experts and scientific workers for the requirements of the army. This task is being fulfilled in every respect. But those "big battles" for coal and coke, for capacity of a bridge and other problems, also belong in the scope of the military college activities. For, if the military technology and the people directing it are to carry out their tasks, they must both be of the highest quality. And it is this high level which makes it possible that ideas formulated at a military school can be also applied in the national economy. The military academy in Brno today cooperates with 40 of our largest industrial enterprises. This fact alone is the best possible testimony as to the quality of the school and its graduates.

"School is politics" was once said by someone. It was true at that time and it is doubly true today; it is especially true with regard to military schools.

People who enter life bearing this fact in mind, cannot miss finding their right place and reach their goal.

9454

CSO: 2400

OVERVIEW OF MILITARY SCHOOLS FOR POTENTIAL CANDIDATES

Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 15 Feb 80 p 5

[Text] The scientific and technological revolution today affects all aspects of our lives. Its impact is certainly felt in the armed forces which represent a highly complex organism equipped with the most advanced technology. Consequently, a career in the military today includes hundreds of the most diverse professions. While during the First World War, there were 15 to 20 military specialties and in the Second about 150, today these specializations can be counted in the hundreds. Understandably therefore, the overall character of military operations has also changed. A modern army needs not only commanders and political officers capable of managing the training and the educational process, but also pilots able to fly airplanes already twice as fast as the speed of sound, specialists for the incredibly complicated rocket technology, electronics, radio directional techniques, etc.

We must also consider the rear echelon for we cannot do without physicians, communications and computer specialists, and road, bridge and rail builders. Also needed are experts in air and other transportation, and in many other specialized fields.

To train all the needed personnel is the task of the military higher schools. While it is not difficult to obtain information about civilian schools, finding out about academic conditions in the military ones is a bit more complicated. Young men sometimes have incomplete, often even distorted, ideas about military schools, the military occupation as such.

What then are the opportunities offered by our armed forces to secondary school graduates with a matriculation certificate?

Military higher schools offer a wide selection of specialties both in the scientific and technological areas. Their graduates acquire university-level education with the same titles allowed by law at other institutions of learning. Young men who, having successfully passes admission requirements, are selected, will be called up for 5 months of reserve military service. If during this time they sign an application for regular army

status, they receive it after the 5 months in the grade of junior warrant officer. If they do not sign such an application, or are released for medical or academic reasons, they will have to complete the remaining 19 months of their normal national service.

The Ground Forces School of Army General L. Svoboda, Three-Time Hero of the CSSR and Hero of the Soviet Union, in Vyskov in Moravia.

In a basic 4-year course, this school trains officers for positions in motorized infantry and armored units, paratroopers, and technical specialists in the motorized and armored services, and in chemical warfare units. The curriculum includes command and organizational subjects in motorized infantry, armor, and motorized reconnaissance, and command and organizational technical subjects in armor and chemical warfare.

Higher Military Technical School of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship in Liptovsky Mikulas

The substance of this 4-year course focuses on mastering anti-aircraft technology, radio-location technology, systems of automated command and direction, as well as communication technology. The curriculum includes anti-air defense of the country, anti-air defense of ground forces, radio technical and communications troops.

Air Force School of the Slovak National Uprising, in Kosice

The 4-year course trains command and technical personnel of the air force, including pilots and navigators. In addition to satisfying all other requirements, applicants must have a certification of physical fitness for flight training from the Institute of Aeronautical Medicine in Prague. The curriculum includes air command and organizational studies with pilot training; command and organizational courses for engineering air services, airfield air radio technology.

Higher Military School for Rear Echelon and Technical Support Troops of Hero of the CSSR, Jan Sverma, in Zilina

Highly qualified officers selected for key functions in rear echelon services and financial affairs study here for 4 years. The curriculum includes organizational and economic aspects of services using propellants and lubricants, organization and economy of supply and logistics services, and organization and economy of the finance services.

Military Faculty of the Transportation and Communications School in Zilina

This 5-year course trains command personnel for railroad and highway military transport, and construction and billeting services. The curriculum includes construction and maintenance of railways, roads, and transport oriented toward construction of billeting facilities; military transport (orientation automotive or transport-organizational).

Institute of Military Medicine, Research and Post-Graduate Studies of J.E. Purkyne, in Hradec Kralove

Along with the medical and pharmaceutical faculty of Charles University in Hradec Kralove, the institute trains future military doctors in general medicine (6-year course), stomatology (5-year course), pharmacology (6-year course). While at the Institute, candidates are simultaneously full students of the above-mentioned faculty and participate in its instructional program.

Military Department of the Physical Education and Sports Faculty of Charles University in Prague

The course trains physical education officers for the Czechoslovak Peoples Army. Students prepare to assume positions in the area of military physical education and sports.

The Antonin Zapotocky Military Academy in Brno is currently the center of military scientific, and scientific technological research in the Czechoslovak Peoples Army. The 5-year course which offers university-level engineering education, trains officers of military engineering and technological services. The curriculum includes machine, electro-technical, directional, and meteorological engineering.

Military Political Academy of Klement Gottwald in Bratislava, trains political officers in the Czechoslovak Peoples Army who already have university-level education. In addition, a basic 4-year university-level course is offered by the Military-Political Faculty. Upon graduation and 5-years of practical experience, these officers can apply for post-graduate courses at the Academy.

Interested young men who are students of non-military institutions, can submit applications to the District (Area) Military Directorate, according to their permanent residence. There they will obtain additional concrete information also about the material and financial terms for students of higher military schools. Interested persons who are serving their basic military duty, should submit their applications to their respective commanders. Persons applying must have a matriculation certificate and must not be more than 24 years old.

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JANUARY 1980 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Jan 80 p 4

[Helmut Caspar review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35, No 1, January 1980, signed to press 7 December 1979, pp 1-112: "Solidarity With Liberated Countries." Translations and/or summaries of the articles by the authors referred to below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] The 1970's have brought about significant changes in the part of the world once dominated by the imperialist colonial system. Relying on the growing strength of real socialism, on its increasing influence in the world and on its internationalist solidarity, the anti-imperialist, democratic and revolutionary forces have inflicted considerable defeats on imperialism in many Asian, African and Latin American states. This is pointed out by Egon Dummer and Emil Langer in the January issue of EINHEIT.

In their analysis of the basic trends of the national liberation movement, the authors deal particularly with the social development in the approximately 20 Asian and African countries that have a socialist orientation. While these countries are not yet socialist, they are engaged in "fundamental political and socioeconomic transformations that facilitate and accelerate their possible transition to socialism." In these actions the socialist countries are rendering effective assistance, as the authors prove by examples.

Renate Wuensche deals with the role of the nonaligned states in international relations and with the results of the Havana summit conference which has affirmed the anti-imperialist basic positions of that group of states, while Wolfgang Sproete describes the struggle of the developing countries for a democratic transformation of international economic relations.

In another article Margarete Mueller, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, explains how the model statutes for agricultural producer cooperatives (LPG) enacted in July 1978 are proving their worth in our socialist agriculture. Other contributions discuss problems related to scientific creativity under socialism (by Hermann Klare); aspects of enhancing effectiveness in combines (by Wolf Dietrich Hartmann); or the causes, course and outcome of the 1905-07 revolution in Russia which had its beginning 75 years ago (by Johannes Zelt).

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

OUTLOOK OF SOCIALIST STATES' RELATIONS WITH LDC'S DISCUSSED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 1, Jan 80 signed to press 7 Dec 79
pp 9-17

['National Liberation Movement Today' feature article by Dr Egon Dummer, lecturer, and Dr Emil Langer, research program director, both at Institute for International Workers Movement, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee: "Basic Trends of the National Liberation Movement"]

[Text] The 1970's have brought about significant changes in the part of the world once dominated by the imperialist colonial system. In most of the more than 120 developing countries these are already changes marked by the character and tasks of the new phase in the national liberation movement which set in after the once colonially suppressed peoples had gained their national independence.

Today the national liberation movement entails mainly the struggle by all patriotic forces to liquidate the remains of the colonial system and racist regimes and eliminate the political and military positions of imperialism which restrict the sovereignty of the young states; the struggle by the developing countries to transform international economic relations, eliminate the backwardness inherited from colonialism, and overcome their despoliation by neocolonialism; and the struggle by the anti-imperialist, democratic forces for penetrating social transformations which in many countries tend to become a struggle against any kind of exploitation relations.

Relying on the growing strength of real socialism, on its increasing influence in the world and its solidarity, the anti-imperialist, democratic and revolutionary forces have inflicted considerable defeats on imperialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America.¹ Especially the struggle against neocolonialism assumed new dimensions. More than 40 young states have taken measures to nationalize the holdings of foreign monopolies. A manifestation new in quality is that the developing countries are coming out together with a program that demands a fundamental transformation of world economic relations and mainly aims at making an end of the neocolonialist despoliation of the developing countries' natural resources in which imperialism

has engaged. The developing countries' noticeable gain in weight in international life compels imperialism to modify its neocolonialist policy. Without giving up its previous goals, it is supplementing its methods of economic, political and military pressure by a more subtle approach. In this, economic measures come to the fore that aim at ensuring the integration of the developing countries within international capitalist division of labor on a new foundation. This approach is accompanied by an ideological offensive with a massive anticommunist, anti-Soviet campaign central to it in which the Peking leaders openly appear as the allies of imperialism.

The consolidation of the position of the young states in the anti-imperialist struggle is connected with important internal developmental processes. Many countries have made remarkable progress in their industrialization, mainly through government help, and in developing their public education and public health. Efforts at transforming precapitalist conditions meet with fierce resistance from reactionary forces. These processes differ much from country to country, and differences are growing among them in terms of the level of economic development. At the same time, due to increasing social divergency in these countries, the class struggle is intensifying. The focal point comes to be placed more and more on the question on the basis of which production relations and under the leadership of which class forces they intend to overcome their backwardness.

The deepening of its social substance became the main trend of the national, anti-imperialist, democratic liberation struggle. Practically speaking, it has begun to grow into the struggle against any kind of exploitation relations--feudal as well as capitalist.² Experience shows that the once colonialist countries following a capitalist course are not able to free themselves from neocolonialist exploitation and make sure that the working people can enjoy the fruits of national independence. Likewise in our era there arose the real possibility to solve the general democratic tasks in backward countries in a national democratic revolution through a course of development with socialist orientation. Among the social impulses for national-democratic development are the workers class, the most consistent anti-imperialist and revolutionary force, the peasantry, mainly its working strata, parts of the urban petty bourgeoisie, the progressive intelligentsia and the broad semiproletarian masses. In most young states the composition of the social forces at present is such that none of the classes and strata could by themselves successfully lead the struggle for social progress. Only through an alliance of various class forces can this task be solved.

The countries that have a socialist orientation are the vanguard of the national liberation movement today. At the same time, the differences are growing among the countries that follow capitalist developmental trends not only with respect to the state of capitalist development but also in terms of their attitudes toward neocolonialist policy. Some governments seek an independent capitalist development. Others have committed

themselves more or less closely to foreign capital, even though on certain issues they may have their differences with imperialism. These divergencies in the developing countries are a detriment to their jointly opposing neo-colonialist policy. On the whole, however, the development of national capitalism in dependent countries does not cancel their antagonism against imperialism. That continues to be the crucial basis for the nonaligned movement, for the developing countries' common platform in their struggle for the democratization of international economic relations.

Socialist Orientation--The Realistic and Auspicious Course of Social Progress

Through the growing strength of real socialism and on the basis of the all-round support it provides for the national liberation movement it became possible for an increasing number of progressive and anti-imperialist states in Africa and Asia to make a transition to a social development that has a socialist orientation. Thus far, nearly 20 countries with a population in excess of 150 million have taken this course. In other countries as well important changes are taking place which may tend toward paving the way for progressive social development.

The social movement in those states oriented toward socialism is an important sign of the further unfolding of the world revolutionary process and of the deepening in the general crisis in capitalism. "Never before has the socialist orientation been so noticeable and influential a factor of development, so realistic and auspicious a course in the struggle of the nations on both continents for a new life as it is today,"³ the noted Soviet scientist R. A. Ulyanovskiy summarized the almost 20 years of historic experience with this new form of progressive social development in Asia and Africa.

Because of differences in the initial and developmental conditions, there are great differences between the countries concerned with respect to the course of the revolutionary process and the changes achieved or further desired in the base and superstructure. Social development in these countries takes place under complicated internal and external conditions and comes with many social and political contradictions. Tough and hard conflicts come with it, stagnation and reverses at times too. Imperialism and domestic reaction do what they can to stop the revolutionary process and to reverse the social changes initiated. They make use of the fact that the countries with a socialist orientation continue to be tied to the capitalist world market and that some of them will continue to be dependent on it to a large extent for the foreseeable future--because of their one-sided focus on a monoculture economy, taken over from colonial times. As our experience in some countries has shown (for instance in Ghana, Mali and Egypt), a progressive course may also be broken off through constant imperialist interference on behalf of the counterrevolutionary forces, inconsistencies, subjectivist errors or nationalist corruption of the political leadership, or the lack of a firm political alliance with the USSR and the other socialist states, and may be reversed into a procapitalist development--a reflection of that the liberation struggle does not proceed along a straight line but fluctuates up-and-down before it prevails.

Social development with socialist orientation as it is proceeding in Asian and African countries is a specific way of transition to socialism for formerly colonial and semicolonial countries by which the capitalist stage of development is circumvented or broken off. Social practice in the countries that have chosen this road of development confirms that this is a revolutionary transitional process of a general democratic nature amounting to anti-imperialist, antifeudal and increasingly also anti-capitalist transformations, is normally led by progressive, nonproletarian forces--since the workers class is still little developed--, runs through various developmental stages over a long period of time, and is marked by the political struggle for making definitely prevail the revolutionary-democratic, anticapitalist tendencies. This course does not mean that the construction of socialism will then begin immediately. But it does make possible gradually overcoming the backwardness that has come down from the colonial past and creating the material-technical, social and political-ideological prerequisites for the later transition to the socialist revolution, in particular, promoting the formation and development of the workers class and forming the revolutionary vanguard of the working people equipped with the scientific world-outlook. These then are steps toward the socialist revolution for the immediate implementation of which the preconditions are not yet ripe. The fact that the struggle for a development with socialist orientation more and more affects the nature of all partial struggles against imperialism and for social progress must not mislead us into depicting the rapprochement between this national-democratic stage of the revolution in which the base and superstructure of socialist elements gradually emerge and the socialist stage of the revolution in a way that would largely erase the qualitative differences between the two stages. In view of the enormous differences in concrete historic conditions, in impulses and leadership forces, and in strategic objectives and requirements, schematic comparisons between the revolutionary processes in African countries that have a socialist orientation and people's democratic revolutions in Europe would also be uncalled for.

What applies to the revolutionary processes in the countries with socialist orientation are the inevitabilities in revolutionary transition relations worked out by V. I. Lenin and the international communist movement in the theory on noncapitalist development. That conception is turning into practical reality today in the socialist-oriented social development of a growing number of liberated states. No difference of principle exists between noncapitalist development and socialist orientation. The term "socialist orientation" has been preferentially employed in recent years however because it gives a clearer expression to the direction and goal of social development. We must see countries that have a socialist orientation as states that are not yet socialist but reject capitalism as a social system and are engaged in fundamental political and socio-economic transformations that facilitate and accelerate their possible transition to socialism. These countries pursue an anti-imperialist policy of peace and detente.

The peoples in the countries with a socialist orientation are visibly and successfully seeking to secure and consolidate their state sovereignty, build up their national economy and achieve economic independence, change the social conditions in their rural areas, democratize public and political life, develop their educational system and public health, promote their national culture and raise their standard of living. They are taking hold of their power of disposition over their natural resources and are developing a strong state economic sector as the economic basis for their revolutionary-democratic power. The USSR and other socialist states, the GDR included, supply them for this with extensive political, economic and scientific-technical aid.

A Marxist-Leninist analysis of these historic experiences yields some features of socialist orientation which are unevenly developed in the countries concerned: The power passes into the hands of the progressive forces which wrest from, or deny, the bourgeoisie and feudal elements the monopoly of political power and act on behalf of the broad people's masses; a revolutionary-democratic state and a new state apparatus are created; the economic supremacy of imperialism, particularly of the neo-colonialist positions of the international monopolies, is undermined or broken; a state and a cooperative sector of the economy is formed, and their priority development is ensured; the government regulates the private capitalist sector and effectively controls foreign capital; all-round cooperation is developed with the socialist states; penetrating social and cultural transformations in the interest and through the participation of the people's masses (land reforms, elimination of illiteracy, women's equality, labor and welfare legislation); constant struggle against corruption; and struggle against the ideology of imperialism and social reformism and for enforcing revolutionary-democratic ideas, which are historically in tune with the peoples' worldwide liberation struggle and the theory and experiences of scientific socialism.⁴

These transformations can be rigorously implemented only if led by a revolutionary vanguard which in its activities relies on the realization of the inevitabilities in social development and on historic experiences, and which is closely allied with the people's masses and can organize them politically and lead them ideologically. Other important aspects of socialist orientation and its perspective are: the democratization of political and public life, ensuring in particular the steadily growing role of the workers class and its class organizations; unity of action among all forces and parties that are rigorously anti-imperialist and are convinced of the need for a socialist orientation, primarily the communists and revolutionary democrats; an economic policy that conforms with real possibilities and is combined with the gradual improvement of the working people's standard of living; and a democratic nationality policy that guarantees the equal rights of peoples and ethnic groups within the unified state.

It is of extraordinary significance that several revolutionary-democratic parties and movements in Africa and Asia (in Afghanistan, Angola, Mozambique, Congo, Benin, Ethiopia and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen) have declared Marxism-Leninism to be the ideological and political foundation for their activity and begun to form as revolutionary vanguard parties. Thereby important prerequisites are being created for a higher level of political organization among the progressive forces. Throughout a complicated and contradictory process which is likely to take a long time, parties of champions of socialism are emerging reflecting a greater degree of maturity of the subjective factor in the anti-imperialist and social liberation struggle.

Social Reformist Activities

In the 1970's the Socialist International (SI) significantly intensified its activities in the developing countries. It attempted to give itself the appearance of a kind of "third force" and is trying to defuse, through mediation, the conflict between developing countries and capitalist industrial states. It pleads for a "balancing of interests," within the scope of the capitalist world economy of course, which is dominated by the monopolies. This alone suggests that in that conception the basic interests of the developing countries are subordinated to the profit and supremacy interests of imperialism. These aspirations of international social democracy to a large extent coincide with the more elastic variant of the neocolonialist policy of imperialism with its attempt at accommodating itself to the balance of power changing in favor of socialism and the rapid upswing of the national liberation movement.

Within the Socialist International and various social-reformist parties, different forces place different emphases on some aspects of this policy. There are social democratic circles expressing real interests of the developing countries, for example with regard to containing the negative consequences of the international monopolies' practice of despoliation. Furthermore, there are points of contact between social democratic circles and anti-imperialist forces in the national liberation movement, including the communists, in matters of the struggle for detente and arms limitation, the elimination of racist and fascist regimes, and the enforcing of bourgeois-democratic rights in some countries. From this there may result new possibilities for expanding the worldwide front against racism, fascism and international monopolies and for restraining neocolonialist exploitation. Rigorously anti-imperialist forces, however, do not fail to see the contradiction between words and deeds among the authoritative forces of social reformism, which shows up most clearly in that governments under the social democrats render neocolonialism services. It is above all anticommunism--used flexibly--which serves social reformism as the chief weapon for subverting the anti-imperialist united front of all national-revolutionary forces, a front that is necessary to make the real interests of the developing countries prevail.

Intimately connected with that are the increasing efforts by the Socialist International to propagate more strongly in the developing countries the reformist social conception of "democratic socialism"--a presumed alternative for Marxism-Leninism, which has never yet led in any country to the abolition of capitalist exploitation. For a starting point it uses various nonproletarian conceptions of socialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America proclaiming, essentially, a "third course" between socialism and capitalism. With it, the attempt is made to adapt to the specific circumstances in the liberated countries. It became clear at the 14th Socialist International Congress at Vancouver in 1978 that in preparing its new declaration of principle a "worldwide interpretation of socialism" is contemplated, that is to say, a still broader enlisting of the heterogeneous forces which all are intent on preventing revolutionary developments.

Africa "remains problem field number one," FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU wrote on 6 November 1978 in commenting on the congress, "and remains a challenge for SI. The congress regards as crucial whether one could finally gain a foothold vis-a-vis the communists." That also is the reason why the leaders of the Socialist International have been trying very hard for some years to create a "Confederation of African Socialist Parties" through which they could influence the ideological, political and social development of young states.

Focal points in the activities of the Socialist International also are the governing parties in countries with a socialist orientation and the liberation movements in the south of Africa. Through close contacts with the revolutionary-democratic parties and organizations, and mainly through a targeted policy involving delegations and invitations and aid shipments to the liberation movements, the attempt is made to affect the political and ideological differentiations within these organizations for the benefit of reformist forces. This way the preconditions are to be created for implanting a basic line that serves the neocolonialist interests of imperialism and opposes the alliance with real socialism within those parties and organizations.

A New Quality of Alliance Between the Socialist Community of States and the National Liberation Movement

The objective foundations for the alliance between the socialist states and the national liberation movement have become more pronounced in recent years. This alliance is a historic inevitability and is based on the common interests in the struggle for peace and security, national independence and social progress, and against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism. For decades already it has stood its test with success; after all, it has decisively contributed to the historic victories of the national liberation movements. "In the worldwide class conflict with imperialism," Comrade Erich Honecker proclaimed at a friendship demonstration in Mozambique in 1979, "socialism, the national liberation movements and the states that have emerged from them are natural allies."⁵

Abundant relations on the state and social level have developed between the socialist states and most of the countries liberated from colonialism. In recent years these contacts have solidified and expanded in all domains of public life, especially in the political field. Many developing countries are coming to realize that there is an objective identity of interests in world political matters between them and the states in the socialist community. What they hold in common concerns primarily the struggle for safeguarding world peace, for stopping the arms race and for disarmament, eliminating dangerous hotbeds of conflict and expanding the process of detente to additional regions on the earth, the democratic transformation of international economic relations, the strengthening of anti-imperialist positions and the development of mutually advantageous relations.

The struggle for social changes in the sense of social progress and against the hegemonial and despoliation policy of imperialism, as well as their support for the peace and detente policy of the USSR and the other socialist states are the main contribution of the national and social liberation movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to the worldwide revolutionary process of our time. In turn, these peoples always could and can rely on the active solidarity of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. "Our party," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev declared, "supports the peoples struggling for their freedom and will do so in the future. Doing so, the Soviet Union is seeking no advantages for itself, is not chasing after any concessions, seeks no political supremacy and strives for no military bases. We act under the dictates of our revolutionary conscience and our communist conviction."⁶

These qualitatively new relations between the socialist community of states and the national liberation movement are reflected in the long-term friendship and cooperation treaties the USSR, the GDR, Cuba, Bulgaria and other socialist states have concluded with countries of socialist orientation in Africa and Asia.

An important contribution to further consolidating this alliance came from the friendship visits by our party and state delegations, led by Comrade Erich Honecker, to Libya, Angola, Zambia and Mozambique in February 1979 and to Ethiopia and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen in November 1979. The same holds true for the friendly meetings with the representatives of the Organization for African Unity (OAU) and of those liberation movements in the south of Africa that are heroically fighting against colonialist and racist suppression: The Southwest African People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia, the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa.

In the outcome of these meetings, the GDR has qualitatively extended and deepened its relations with these states and liberation movements on all levels. The friendship and cooperation treaties concluded during these visits between our socialist state and Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen are of historic importance.⁷

The importance of these state treaties far transcends the interests of the countries and their peoples involved. They not only mark a new phase in interstate relations but they also evidence and exemplify the further deepening in substance and expansion in form of the alliance between the socialist community of states and the countries of socialist orientation. Relations of a new type are developing which are increasingly more pervaded with the spirit of friendship, mutual trust and understanding and effective reciprocal solidarity as it is characteristic of the relations among fraternal socialist countries. These relations rely on common anti-imperialist traditions and on the fighting community struggling for peace, detente and disarmament, for the peoples' freedom and independence, for economic advance and social progress. They rely on common ideals and goals, on the principles of proletarian internationalism.⁸ Those treaties and a number of agreements and accords form the basis for a purposeful, long-term cooperation in the matters of foreign policy, the economy, science, culture, the educational system, public health and other fields. They help create a new and fairer international economic order.

Foreign economy ties play a great role in the relations between the socialist states and the countries of socialist orientation and other developing countries. Reciprocal beneficial economic and scientific-technical cooperation with a number of African and Asian countries is developing dynamically and is beginning to assume the character of long-term, stable relations in a division of labor. The USSR and other socialist states have as a matter of priority been assisting in the construction of industrial and other economically important projects, mainly in the raw materials industry, the development of which is particularly important for ensuring national independence and strengthening a national economy. They are assisting in the priority development of the state sector and in the training of specialists. Up to early 1979, the Soviet Union had assisted in setting up 1,069 projects. Through Soviet aid, from 70,000 to 80,000 skilled specialists are trained annually for the developing countries. The CEMA states as a whole have set up and are setting up in these countries circa 4,000 projects of which many are already in operation. Between 1970 and 1978, the GDR built approximately 500 industrial enterprises and other objects and sent hundreds of scientific-technical specialists into nationally liberated states. The foreign trade turnover more than tripled within the same period. By implementing the accords concluded with the CEMA countries it will be possible to raise the developing countries' steel production capacities by almost 30 million tons annually, their petroleum extraction by 60 million tons, their petroleum processing capacity by more than 30 million tons, and their power plant capacity by 16 million kilowatt. Right now the universities and technical schools of the CEMA countries are training 40,000 pupils, students, young scientists and interns from the developing countries.⁹

Along with the complex shape given to bilateral relations, also multilateral forms of cooperation are now beginning to form between socialist states and, in particular, countries of socialist orientation. For example, within the CEMA framework, active support is being coordinated for the development of

the Ethiopian economy. The long-term target programs on cooperation among the CEMA countries up to 1990 or 2000 provide, above and beyond a more intensive cooperation among the member countries, for possibilities of extensive industrial cooperation with the nationally liberated states, mainly in the fields of energy, metallurgy, chemistry and agriculture.

Among the new progressive trends in the relationship between world socialism and the national liberation movement is the upswing and further shaping of cooperation between communist and revolutionary-democratic parties. The SED has consistently developed its contacts with revolutionary-democratic parties and movements in African and Asian countries. The political and ideological content of this cooperation has been significantly enriched. Questions that are playing an increasing role in this concern the international anti-imperialist struggle, the party's political leadership activities in the various fields of public life, and the training and advanced training of cadres. With all the differences of degrees existing, these ties are becoming systematic and long-term. Party relations are moving up onto a higher level wherever vanguard parties are starting to develop which are making Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism the basis of their policy and are interested in making all-round use of the socialist states' experiences, including their expertise in party organization and in the management of social development. Simultaneously, these relations give rise to strong impulses for intensifying the cooperation on all levels and in all public domains.

The SED considers it one of its most responsible internationalist duties to do everything for further deepening these connections in the interest of the common struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism, and for peace and social progress.

The prospect of the peoples' national and social liberation struggle is closely connected with the further strengthening of real socialism and its international influence. New successes in this struggle, for all intents and purposes, depend on how closely the anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces in the developing countries cooperate with the USSR and the other socialist states, effectively use the aid and support they offer them, and not let themselves be pushed into anticomunist, bourgeois-nationalist and social reformist positions. The unity of action among all progressive forces, especially between the communists and the revolutionary democrats, on the national and international level, is a crucial prerequisite and a guarantee for further victories in the cause of national and social liberation.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. "Zu einigen aktuellen internationalen Fragen. Aus dem Referat des Genossen Hermann Axen auf der 10. Tagung des ZK der SED" (On Some Topical International Questions--From Comrade Hermann Axen's Speech at the 10th SED Central Committee Plenum), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1979, p 57.

2. Cf. "The 24th CPSU Congress," "Dokumente," APN publishing house, Moscow/
Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1971, p 10.
3. R. Ulyanovskiy, "About the Countries of Socialist Orientation,"
KOMMUNIST, Moscow, No 11, 1979, p 123.
4. Cf. *ibid.*, pp 118-119.
5. Erich Honecker, "Your Land--Evidence of Great Changes in Our Time,"
NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 24/25 February 1979, p 3.
6. L. I. Brezhnev, "The 25th CPSU Congress--CPSU Central Committee Status
Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy,"
Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 17.
7. Cf. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 20 and 26 February 1979 and 16 and 19 November
1979.
8. Cf. "Speeches by Erich Honecker During the GDR Party and State Delega-
tions' Visit in Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and the People's Democratic
Republic of Yemen," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 19, 22, 23, 24/25 February 1979
and 13 and 16 November 1979.
9. Cf. O. Bogomolov, "The CEMA States and the Developing Countries,"
MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN, Moscow, No 6, 1979, p 31 and p 34.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ACADEMICIAN EXPLAINS NEED FOR UNIMPEDED 'SCIENTIFIC CREATIVITY'

Need for Greater Risk-Taking

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 2, Jan 80 pp 8-9

[Report by FRG Ministry for Inter-German Relations: "Critique of Research in the GDR." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article by Prof Hermann Klare discussed below follows the second West German commentary]

[Text] In a contribution on "Scientific Creativity Under Socialism" in the SED journal EINHEIT, Prof Dr Hermann Klare calls for more "joyous risk-taking" in scientific research. Klare--from 1968 until the middle of last year the president of the GDR Academy of Sciences, and one of its vice presidents since then--is of the view that "very demanding research tasks cannot all and always be as obviously fulfilled and surpassed as decided in our balancing of plans." Klare writes: "Paradoxical as it may sound, I am worried about this seemingly smooth fulfilling and surpassing R&D plans at present in the GDR Academy of Sciences, and to me the question arises from that whether we should not have to take a greater risk." A "glance at economic history" showed that "especially research which later on brought most outstanding results and accomplishments often was accompanied by disappointments, errors and unfulfilled deadlines."

Klare asks the question "whether our evaluation criteria are right, whether we should not take risks more joyously and have more confidence in ourselves, even with the danger that the result desired makes considerable difficulties with regard to its fidelity to the plan. Is there not a relatively great danger of mediocrity in our basic and applied research if we evidently run into no kind of conflict with our notions of schedules and deadlines? And is not also 'integrity' in science, in this case the 'integrity' in planning as well as in accounting for it, something that plays a role here?" At the end of his reflections, Klare says something "about possible impediments to creativity by what we usually call bureaucracy in research, or what may also be caused by excessive perfectionism in research planning and reporting. Research planning and reporting must be--particularly in the interest of highest productivity. That does not necessarily include, however, piles of bureaucratic papers. On the contrary! My experience has been that generally a creative researcher fights against bureaucracy in research which, to be sure, also deprives him of valuable time."

Aversion to Science Studies

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 4, 8 Jan 80 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Youth Criticized for 'Distorted Picture of Environment.'" A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article by Prof Hermann Klare cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] Prof Hermann Klare, the former president of the GDR Academy of Sciences, has discovered a "distorted picture of the environment" among the young people in the GDR. Writing in the SED journal EINHEIT, he attributes that to the "negative image" of the effects of the chemical industry, for instance, and of nuclear energy and so forth on the environment, which was increasingly being disseminated, and not only in Western media. Consequences of that attitude toward the environment Klare finds, among other things, in a certain "resistance" among GDR youths against chemistry and possibly altogether against studying natural sciences and technical sciences in particular. Because one could find at this time certain difficulties in filling the training facilities and even jobs for it. Consequences could arise from that with the "most undesirable ramifications." The danger was not yet acute but should have to be stopped in its beginning. (EINHEIT 1/80)

GDR Academician's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 1, Jan 80 signed to press 7 Dec 79 pp 32-38

[Article by Prof Dr Hermann Klare, vice president, GDR Academy of Sciences: "Scientific Creativity Under Socialism." For translations of related information, published under the heading, "Obstacles to Creativity, Motivation in Science Discussed,": see JPRS 74770, 14 Dec 79, EAST EUROPE REPORT: SCIENTIFIC AFFAIRS No 656, pp 24-36]

[Text] The socialist society's attitude toward scientific creativity follows from the scientific as well as revolutionary character of Marxism-Leninism. The author examines the following aspects: The political-ideological location and personal commitment to social progress; purposiveness, enthusiasm, the will to perform and the readiness for risks; the creativity of technological research and the role of technical allocations for research; demanding and effective management and planning--the precondition for high productivity in science work.

Our society's attitude toward science and scientific creativity follows from the scientific character and the revolutionary spirit of its world-outlook, Marxism-Leninism. Science to Karl Marx, as Friedrich Engels has said, was

"a revolutionary force moving history. Much as he could enjoy a new discovery in any theoretical science the practical application of which could perhaps not yet be envisaged--an entirely different joy he sensed when it was a matter of a discovery which would at once, in a revolutionary way, have impact on industry, on historic development altogether."¹

Our party and state position on science becomes clear in our Constitution, which says: "The GDR fosters science, research and education for the purpose of protecting and enriching society and the life of the citizens. That is served by combining the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism."² Now it may be said that all this is known well enough. Yet it seems nonetheless appropriate to recall it because it was not so very long ago at all that the position of science was not taken for granted like that, and because what we have brought to realization is certainly not accepted as valid everywhere: Spirit and power, socialism and science form an inseparable unity in our state, imposing on all the obligation to realize and further develop it constantly.

In all this we must keep in mind that "knowledge is not yet science, as little as a knowledgeable person is automatically a scholar. However much a person may know, a scientist he only becomes if he creates new knowledge." Or, to put it differently: "Science is not knowing things as such but the activity of society for producing knowledge, i.e., scientific production."³ "Scientific production," however, is not possible without scientific creativeness, without creativity, to use a word that is often used today.

Scientific Creativity and Political Commitment

By scientific creativity I mean giving thought to and seeking demonstrably new natural science and social science insights and interconnections as well as their application for the good and welfare of socialist society. I have on purpose left out artistic creativity in my statement, not because I think scientific and artistic creativity are mutually exclusive, but because I want to concentrate on scientific creativity. Incidentally, much that is worthy of note has already been said elsewhere about what is creative in natural science and art.⁴

For being creative, intuition is indispensable, for "intuition lends wings to an idea allowing us to break through the cycle of ideas turned into tradition, those ideas that have assumed the form of prejudice, the form of a street in concrete, on which a thought moves with the habitual ease of a memorized adage, sliding along on well-worn tracks."⁵ This is true of science and art alike: "Our party has always taken for granted that the arts are indispensable and irreplaceable for the spiritual life of our society. We can do neither without the discoveries of the sciences nor without the discoveries of the arts."⁶

Reflecting on the aforesaid, a qualification, it seems to me, is required here. What I said about creativity and intuition may still be too general, that is, valid wherever creative scientific work is done and not typical of "scientific creativity under socialism." No one, surely, is going to insinuate I am taking scientific creativity and intuition to be exclusive criteria of socialism, and no one among us is likely to deny or misconceive the outstanding achievements by scientists in nonsocialist countries. That would be as arrogant as dangerous. What makes the difference, however, is the matter of responsibility and party-mindedness. Again I quote the GDR Constitution: "Any abuse of science directed against peace, international understanding and the life and dignity of man is proscribed."⁷ Everyone who works creatively in science in the socialist state is committed to that precept. Max Steenbeck, for instance, put it this way: "A researcher today lives up to his responsibility only if he meets two demands at one and the same time which only seem to be mutually exclusive: to be objective and party-minded. That means: being as objective as he can be in exploring what is possible and helping realize of it what is necessary for the future in passionate party-mindedness. The unity of the two alone provides the whole answer to the question of why he works." And he says further: "What the assurance that springs from that decision means for the personality formation of the researcher can probably be fully appreciated only by someone who himself has experienced such conflicts and has resolved them in a higher synthesis. No one can simply adopt a conviction or copy one from others. He must fight for it himself--through collectively working for our society. This party-mindedness is not in contradiction with truthfulness--else, the scientific grounding of socialism would not be possible at all."⁸

Again, I am by no means so presumptuous as to believe that thousands of my colleagues in nonsocialist countries are not as aware as we are of the consequences of their actions and creativity.⁹ The crucial difference, however, is that this is a constitutional principle in the GDR, which outlaws any abuse of research results. Beyond the borders of our state they may think that is insignificant because they believe in the ethos of science and in the conscience of the scientists. But I think this constitutional principle is decisive, and I think many events of recent times confirm me in this. Only recall the Vietnam War and the neutron bomb. We do hear utterances like this today: "It is a sign of corruption for a scientist to enter the political arena and, on purpose or by accident, place his scientific reputation at the service of an individual or collective prejudice."¹⁰ Such a conviction, it seems to me, has not yet overcome the dangerous naivety of the "apolitical scientist" and makes any abuse of science possible. Finally, when you come to think about it, remember, for example, Albert Einstein and his political commitment against the rise of fascism to comprehend the basic error and presumption implied in that kind of "apolitical" notion. Unfortunately, utterances of that sort are not insignificant, for they express in one way or another the conviction of many scientists in Western countries.

Creative Scientific Work and Its Prerequisites

It may seem I have gotten a bit too far away from scientific creativity, yet I believe one cannot talk about that thoroughly without first talking about the responsibility that covers the demands for any creative work.

For working creatively, some prerequisites must of course have been fulfilled: Personal commitment, diligence, dedication--sometimes reaching the stage of frenzy--, patience along with impatience and curiosity are some of the things that are part of it, of which more will be said. In all this I presuppose that there is thorough knowledge and the absolute desire and necessary imagination for producing knowledge.

Occupying oneself with science and research, keeping one's enthusiasm and not losing one's courage when despite all efforts success does not come as fast as one would have wanted or have expected, that is what it takes. Creative scientific work--as so much other work likewise--calls for courage, patience and obstinacy in taking a new approach when one is convinced the old one does not reach the goal. In R&D--due to the degree of indeterminacy for the outcome--the risk is at times greater than in other activities. One must not take it frivolously (and that has to be learned too!) but one must not dodge it either and "drill the board at the thinnest spot," because one wants to place safe.

All this may sound somewhat pedantic, with the forefinger lifted up in the air, especially for younger people, but I cannot help it. It is my life's experience in which dealing with R&D has played a significant role for 45 years. I was fortunate enough to be given the responsibility for larger projects and collectives when I was still relatively young, and for that reason also I am of the opinion that young people who perceive their profession as a calling should be given responsibility early, especially also because usually the "early years" are the most creative years in scientific work. But I also think that during the development of a human being, particularly a scientist, it is detrimental for his formation, his education, skill and creativity if he is solely assigned to one and the same spot until he reaches retirement. If you do not believe that, read the biographies of the very great scholars. There may be exceptions to this rule, but you are likely to find that precisely through the change of jobs and of the substance in science topics creative personalities are formed. Such a change no doubt will cause personal problems that might be hard to come to terms with and make for nervousness, unrest and anger perhaps--, and yet one should be permitted to raise this question: Where is there any success that comes about without any trouble? And this leads to a general problem: How much vital experience is there in a life without conflict that runs in a smooth line, without any ups-and-downs? From that, a creative personality will not usually develop but rather a possibly quite friendly (but also a discontent) colleague whose activity may ultimately warrant this somewhat wicked comment: "The gap he leaves behind replaces him completely."¹¹ S. R. Mikulinski,

by the way, was perfectly correct when he wrote: "Science activity seems to many something idyllic. But it actually is routine work that at times exhausts one's strength. It is not only joy in creativity but is often enough bitterness when hopes are not fulfilled. It is constant exploration and search under tension not everyone can endure."¹² I have already suggested that a creative scientist must understand his vocation in the proper sense of this word as a calling, and when Mikulinski talks about "work that exhausts one's strength" he is likely to be also reminded of the fact that usually very little can be done during a "normal" working day in science and that there are often periods when leisure time is scarce. The beautiful thing, of course, that most of the time you do not even notice how fast the day is spent if you are really grabbed by an idea or experiment or by the search for a new insight. Hermann von Helmholtz' friend, Emil Du Bois-Reymond, spoke of Helmholtz' unsurpassed skill in raising and answering the very questions which at every point were the most important ones, and the treatment of which promised the greatest success. The secret of Helmholtz, also with regard to the wealth of products from his unparalleled productivity, he said, was his indefatigable industry and his ability to have the immense variety of facts and ideas always before him and ready at hand and ready to use.

To conclude this chapter, I should like to add one more thought to the thoughts already expressed which has always been indispensable for creativity and is so today more than ever. I am thinking here of "the conscious and targeted promotion of scientific opinion and experience exchange in all scientific work collectives and science planning organizations. Calm and quiet, becoming enraptured with success and dogmatic disputatiousness have always been poor counsellors, always detrimental to science development. Hearty, and if it has to be so, fierce quarrel too, constantly checking critically one's own data and those of others, the constant search for new and still deeper insights, an open-minded willingness to learn from others, to pick up their insights and experiences and to take over the best thinking and working methods--those are the crucial factors that will lead us forward."¹³

Debate and Risk-Taking

Two prerequisites for scientific creativity I have mentioned already, but I still would like to add a few other things--about scientific discussions and research risk. About the first point I can be brief because an excellent contribution on that was recently published.¹⁴ Its author, S. R. Mikulinski, deals with the "culture of scientific discussion"--and that precisely is what I find so remarkable--by which he means the ability to conduct scientific discussions. He says the criteria for a high culture of discussion mainly are asking the right questions and accurately defining the object of the dispute, because about abstract topics endless discussions could be carried on without doing anything for science. They are fruitless if they ignore the practical requirements of life. And then he says this: "As diamond cutting produces no diamond, neither can science disputes as such produce anything basically new. Concrete research alone leads to new

insights. Not debates as such, thus, is what we are concerned with, but our understanding the meaning and perspectives of the work in the problem under discussion." And then he continues: "Prejudice and ill-will are gross offenses against the ethos of science and lead to the squandering of creative capacities and interhuman conflicts which harm the productivity of research. Only constructive and well-meaning criticism fosters . . . thorough efforts and paves the way for more creative search."¹⁵

Mikulinski therefore rightly says that many discussions would be much more fruitful if the participants had been reared in the spirit of mutual understanding. To make perfectly clear what I too understand by "culture of scientific discussion," I should like to add this: As long as a young scientist hesitates, or has reason to be hesitant, to open his mouth in the presence of older colleagues and express his view on the scientific problem at hand, because he knows it deviates from that of his superior, the atmosphere is poor and science does not prosper, nor does creativity.

Hardly anyone is likely to contradict me seriously if I contend that, to be creative one has to joyously take risks. But that brings up a problem at once about which, it seems to me, we have thought as yet too little. Very demanding research tasks cannot all and always be as obviously fulfilled or surpassed as decided in our balancing of plans. Paradoxical as it may sound, I am worried about this seemingly smooth fulfilling and surpassing R&D plans at present in the GDR Academy of Sciences, and to me the question arises from that whether we should not have to take a greater risk.

A glance at the history and literature of science shows us: Especially research which later on brought most outstanding results and accomplishments often was accompanied by disappointments, errors and also by unfulfilled deadlines. One of the most famous of many examples here is how Otto Hahn, Lise Meitner and Fritz Strassmann came upon nuclear fission. So we must ask ourselves whether our evaluation criteria are right, whether we should not take risks more joyously and have more confidence in ourselves, even with the danger that the result desired makes considerable difficulties with regard to its fidelity to the plan. Is there not a relatively great danger of mediocrity in our basic and applied research if we evidently run into no kind of conflict with our notions of schedules and deadlines?¹⁶ And is not also "integrity" in science, in this case the "integrity" in planning as well as in accounting for it, something that plays a role here? "Research pitched in such a way from the outset that its results are already established, as it were, even before it has started, which focuses, not on a genuine increase in knowledge, but on the avoidance of risk--no matter whether for reasons of incapability, complacency or cowardice--is socially useless."¹⁷ And so I must ask still another question: Is it not so that state managers ought to actually elicit a feasible joyousness in risk-taking especially from their best associates and thereby induce a will to perform and also something we might call "performance pressure?"

That, I am convinced, also will have a more favorable influence on the development of creative personalities. Do not mistake me, I am not propagating any "toying with fear" and am not advocating infidelity to the plan, hiding ignorance and frivolity. I am thinking about fostering creative work that will give rise to more impulses, ideas and results for tapping new areas or generating new research trends and technologies. Somewhat like Wilhelm Ostwald, who summarized his own experiences by saying: "Anyone who became a master did so only because he stopped working on what he was after, not earlier but later than the others, and found something to improve where others were long satisfied with what they had attained."¹⁸

Scientific Creativity: Technology, Instruction, Material-Technical Foundations

It always astonishes me that you can still today--overtly or covertly--hear the view expressed that basic research represents a higher degree of scientific creativity than the use of its data and its technical application. In the course of years I kept running into such views time and time again which made it quite clear, for instance, that technology actually was no science and that technologists therefore, in the broader sense of the word, were not creative at all, or only with reservations. That is of course nonsense, and when opinions like that are spread it may possibly be for the mistaken desire to screen basic research off from a dreaded primacy of technology. While such manifestations have become rare among us and are no longer uttered publicly, we still have to deal with them because the negative image, for instance about the effects on the environment by the chemical industry, nuclear energy and so forth, increasingly disseminated not only by the Western mass media, must be countered resolutely and by easily understandable science arguments. We have noticed for some time, not without concern, that possibly a distorted picture of the environment, along with other influences, has brought about a certain resistance by young people against chemistry, for instance, and possibly even against the study of the natural sciences as such, and particularly against the technical sciences, because we find at this time certain difficulties in filling the particular training facilities and even jobs for that.¹⁹ If then the opinion should arise, to boot, that the occupation with technical sciences and developments cannot be as creative as "pure basic research," consequences with the most undesirable ramifications could arise from it. I see no acute danger here as yet, but *principiis obsta!* (let us check it at the start!).

These remarks, I think, have made it abundantly clear that in my experience creativity is as demonstrable and indispensable in the technical sciences as in the basic disciplines. To document what I have said, let me only remind you of the development of the Diesel engine, the dynamo principle, the ammonia synthesis from the nitrogen in the air, the now again so topical coal chemistry, nuclear power production, synthetic and chemical fiber manufact. the technological procedures generated by use of

microelectronics. The noted British scientist J. D. Bernal has probably given the pithiest formulation to what I have said here when he wrote that in all developmental phases new aspects of nature were discovered in the process of solving practical problems and that, inversely, practice shrivels up unless it is again and again revived by abstract thought.²⁰ Of today's technologist we expect an excellent scientific training and the ability to create something that hitherto did not exist in nature quite in this form, which is to say, he must be creative to do so.²¹

This brings me to a question which, it seems to me, also affects scientific creativity directly. Can someone who works in the sciences remain creative over the long haul, or can his creativity at all increase, if he permanently does his research totally detached from every type of teaching, from imparting his knowledge to others, and from the participation by others? Merely raising the question, I think, means answering it in the negative. I should remind you of the great naturalists who almost without exception were excellent teachers and most of the time also gave rise to outstanding scientific schools. Nor is this gainsaid by the fact that some of these mathematicians, chemists, physicists, biologists, social scientists and others--usually when they got older--more or less gave up the "business of teaching." It still does not mean they did not let younger people share their knowledge. Our brief digression into the "culture of discussion" also is likely to have indicated that creativity requires the informing and participation of others and that--in the extreme case--a "lone wolf," a "recluse," normally does not remain creative. This to me is so self-evident that I hardly need to write any more about it.

A final word still on the question to what extent creativity in the natural sciences depends on the appliances in the laboratory. Laboratory equipment and appliances are not primary there, certainly, for the development of an outstanding theoretical and experimental level of research has its origin in knowledge, skill and thought and, not last, in the creative intuition of men. A collective, even if it has the best and most modern equipment, still is not creative if "nothing new occurs" to it. That actually is a platitude. Along with it, however, one ought to note the warning from the president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, A. P. Aleksandrov, who said at the 25th CPSU Congress: "In the natural sciences and recently also partly in the social sciences, productivity and the quality of work decisively depend on how well equipped research is with modern, highly productive automated laboratory equipment and computer technology. High results are no longer possible today if the equipment used is obsolete."

That doubtless implies that the demands made on the intellectual capabilities are growing and that a higher degree of knowledge, skill and ethics must be there because for highly modern and then usually very expensive equipment the quality of research unequivocally has priority over the quantity of experiments. No doubt, obsolete equipment in most cases impinges very sensitively on creativity because the researchers are surely going to lose their courage when they find out that in spite of all their

brilliant new ideas they simply can no longer keep pace internationally due to their old and not automated devices, since there is no longer any "monopoly" on new ideas. A little later somewhere in the world some other scientists as a rule has the same idea, and with talents being equal, the one with the best equipment reaches the desired result the fastest, and he is the one to be first in making a new discovery. That must be pondered and considered. Otherwise a good collective will soon no longer be creative in the sense of the priority of a scientific outcome stemming from its own idea. But let me reiterate that this observation also contains a most serious moral obligation, that toward "top performance"--as the result of scientific creativity stimulated by modern laboratory devices.

One person or another may still wish to hear something about possible impediments to creativity through what is commonly called bureaucracy in research, or what might be brought about by excessive perfectionism in research planning and reporting. Research planning and reporting must be--particularly in the interest of highest productivity. That does not necessarily include, however, piles of bureaucratic papers. On the contrary! My experience has been that generally a creative researcher fights against bureaucracy in research which, to be sure, also deprives him of valuable time. I hope this concluding remark is not taken as cynicism. My admonishment, however, for all heads of science institutions and their associates, to fight against bureaucracy wherever it occurs on behalf of their creativity, is meant most seriously. No one will do for us what we do not change here ourselves because we earnestly want and have to do it. And I think it is particularly our socialist democracy that offers us every opportunity, and obligates us even, to create and use all prerequisites for highest scientific creativity in the interest of socialism.

FOOTNOTES

1. Friedrich Engels, "The Funeral of Karl Marx," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 19, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 336.
2. "Verfassung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik," Staatsverlag der DDR, Berlin, 1974, Article 17, p 18.
3. G. N. Wolkow, "Soziologie der Wissenschaft. Studien zur Erforschung von Wissenschaft und Technik" (Sociology of Science--Studies on the Exploration of Science and Technology), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1970, pp 164-165.
4. Cf. Max Steenbeck, "On the Creative in Natural Science and Some of Its Relevance to Art," NEUE DEUTSCHE LITERATUR, No 1, 1971, pp 7 ff.
5. Cf. G. N. Wolkow, op. cit., p 354.
6. Kurt Hager, "Zu Fragen der Kulturpolitik der SED, 6. Tagung des ZK der SED" (On Matters of SED Cultural Policy--Sixth SED Central Committee Plenum), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1972, p 31.

7. "Verfassung . . .," loc. cit., Article 17, p 18.
8. Max Steenbeck, "Wirken fuer die Zukunft. Reden und Aufsaetze 1968-1972" (Working for the Future--Speeches and Essays 1968-1972), Aufbau-Verlag, Berlin and Weimar, 1973, p 153 and p 7; see also Max Steenbeck, "Naturalist and Society," DIE WELTBUEHNE, No 24, 15 June 1976, pp 737 ff.
9. Cf. also Max Steenbeck, "Wissen und Verantwortung. Reden und Aufsaetze 1959-1967" (Knowledge and Responsibility--Speeches and Essays 1959-1967), Aufbau-Verlag, Berlin and Weimar, 1967, pp 162 ff; Max Steenbeck, "Wirken fuer die Zukunft . . .," op. cit., pp 202 ff.
10. Hans Mohr, "Ueber die Bedeutung der Naturwissenschaften fuer die Kultur dieser Zeit" (About the Importance of the Natural Sciences for the Culture of Our Time), "Nova Acta Leopoldina," new series, No 209, Vol 37/2, p 9.
11. Cf. Hermann Klare, "What Wants to Be Called a Scientist . . .," SPECTRUM, No 1, 1974, p 7.
12. S. R. Mikulinski, "Scientific Cadre and the Scientific-Technical Revolution," DAS HOCHSCHULWESEN, No 10, 1973, p 296.
13. Kurt Hager, "Wissenschaft und Technologie im Sozialismus" (Science and Technology in Socialism), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1974, pp 73-74.
14. Cf. "The Role of Discussion in Science," SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT, GESELLSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFTLICHE BEITRAEGE, No 2, 1979, pp 171 ff; cf in particular S. R. Mikulinski, "The Scientific Discussion and Science Development, Introductory Remarks," Ibid., p 172.
15. Ibid., p 174.
16. Cf. Hermann Klare, "Twenty-five Years GDR Chemical Association," MITTEILUNGSBLATT CHEMISCHE GESELLSCHAFT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK, No 1, January 1979, p 8.
17. Rita Schober, "The Responsibility of the Scientist in Socialism," quoted in Hermann Klare, "New Year's Reflections 1979," SPECTRUM, No 1, 1979, p 5.
18. Ibid.
19. Cf. Hermann Klare, "Twenty-five Years . . .," loc. cit., pp 10-11.
20. Cf. J. D. Bernal, "Die Wissenschaft in der Geschichte" (Science in History), VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1967, pp 795 ff.
21. Cf. Robert Rompe, "Research and Intensification--Festival Speech at the Leibnitz Day of the GDR Academy of Sciences, 1976," Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Jahrbuch 1976, Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1977, pp 131 ff.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

'WELTANSCHAUUNG' REEMPHASIZED, IDEOLOGICAL WORK TO BE INTENSIFIED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 1, Jan 80 signed to press 7 Dec 79
pp 86-90

['Consultation' feature article by Prof Dr Fred Kohlsdorf, Marxist-Leninist Philosophy Department, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee: "Our Weltanschauung--Intellectual Basis for Conscious Action." A translation of SED CC propaganda chief Klaus Gaebler's article, cited in footnote 9 below, is published under the heading, "Revised Approach to Ideological Indoctrination Urged," in JPRS 75239, 3 Mar 80, No 1769 of this series, pp 25-35]

[Text] "In contrast to all previous forms of society, socialism is created and developed through the conscious and systematic actions of the people. . . But only he can act consciously on behalf of socialism who has socialist consciousness, that is to say, who is equipped with the Weltanschauung of Marxism-Leninism."¹ This remark by Comrade Erich Honecker most emphatically points to the close connection between the Marxist-Leninist Weltanschauung and the working people's conscious actions in the construction of socialist society.

What kind of a connection is this? What role does our Weltanschauung play in the development of socialist consciousness and the conscious and systematic actions of the working people?

In answering those questions we let ourselves be guided by the fundamental realization of historical materialism that consciousness is of necessity a component of the process of public life. Whatever people do and whatever moves them goes through their heads. Each of their steps in appropriating their natural and social environment implies manifold processes of consciousness, mainly those through which they become aware of their needs and interests. In a historically new fashion this is true of the revolutionary action of the people's masses, led by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, in establishing and perfecting the socialist society. And more than that. The workers class is the first and only class in history which, to realize its vital interests, needs a comprehensive and scientifically sound consciousness of its origin, position, historic goal and the course it has to take.

In the course of the socialist revolution, social consciousness attains to its up to then most penetrating historic effects. On the working people's socialist consciousness, on the awareness in their conduct, essentially depends how the economic and political potential, the advantages and impulses inherent in socialism, will develop, how the meaning of socialism is brought to realization.

Unity of Knowledge, Conviction and Motivation

The working people's conscious and systematic action in shaping developed socialism means that the working people apply the "laws of their own social acts . . . with full objective knowledge so that the social causes they have set in motion will primarily and to an ever increasing degree have precisely those effects that had been intended."² An expert and conscious mastery over the laws of their own social acts presupposes an insight into the inevitable interconnections in socialist social development, it requires knowing about the concrete conditions under which the objective laws of socialism work and calls for the unity of thinking, willing and organized action. The Marxist-Leninist Weltanschauung provides the requisite insight into overall social interconnections. It explains the objectives and requirements arising out of the objective laws of socialist society. It orients to the fundamental tasks that have to be solved in any given area and sector of socialist social development.

Even the concept, "with full objective knowledge," makes clear that comprehensive and thorough knowledge is presupposed for the systematic and conscious actions of the working people, a knowledge that pertains, for example, to the overall social objectives, the processes to be coped with in scientific-technical progress, and the interaction between economics, politics and ideology. The Marxist-Leninist Weltanschauung provides the philosophic, economic and social knowledge and insights needed for it. It gives the working people access to understanding the manifold and complicated developmental processes and the inevitabilities behind them. Yet, the Marxist-Leninist Weltanschauung is not merely a sum total of insights. Because Marxism-Leninism discloses the fundamental inevitabilities in nature, society and thinking, provides the workers class and the other working people with a sound scientific world-outlook, and points to the aim and the course of struggle for a social order that is free of exploitation and just, it instills optimism and certitude about the future, and trust and confidence in its own strength. It enables the working people to become fully aware of their place in socialist society and their responsibility as the shapers of it and to derive consequences from it for practical revolutionary action.

From understanding the inevitabilities in the victory of socialism and the dialectics of its development there will then grow the readiness to fight for the solution of the developmental problems and contradictions in its train, always to take sides actively on behalf of our socialist cause, and to dedicate oneself to it personally. Thus in our Weltanschauung,

scientific understanding, the passionate acknowledgement of the cause of socialism, and operational guidance meld into a unified whole. Thus there is an internal connection between providing ideological knowledge, forming firm socialist convictions, and molding the motives needed for conscious action.

This connection always has to be taken into account in ideological training and education. It is always a matter of unity between knowledge and deeds, between thinking, feeling and conduct. Only when the realizations stemming from our Weltanschauung lead to the formation of firm socialist convictions--the conviction that our cause is right and our struggle necessary--will they lead to the revolutionary energy and activity characteristic of conscious socialist conduct. The knowledge of the inevitabilities of social development and the conviction that the socialist course is right thus become motivations that induce socialist actions. Motives such as the responsibility for the whole, the desire for high work achievements and for strengthening our socialist fatherland, the readiness to defend the socialist accomplishments, and the exercise of international class solidarity take their clues from our Weltanschauung and are being shaped in the practical everyday activities toward fulfilling these high social demands.

By way of summary we may say: Our Weltanschauung explains and motivates our working people's activities and orients them to the realization of the interests of the workers class and of all the people, to the goals of socialist society. This function of the scientific Weltanschauung of the workers class is brought to realization to the extent that it turns into the motivation for ideological action in the working people's consciousness. By definition therefore, our scientific Weltanschauung forms the decisive basis of ideas for the conscious acts by the working people in and for socialism.

The Growing Role of Our Scientific Weltanschauung

With socialism becoming increasingly mature, the demands are growing that are made on socialist awareness, on mass activities under the guidance of the Marxist-Leninist Weltanschauung. Thus the further shaping of developed socialist society--as is stated in our party program--calls for developing systematically and on a high level all advantages and impulses, sides and domains of public life: the productive forces and the production relations, the social and political relations, science and education, socialist ideology and culture, working and living conditions in their entirety, and our national defense. By solving the manifold and complex tasks connected with it, our people also creates the fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism in our country. The development of the productive forces, the perfection of public relations, and the unfolding of personality more and more meld into a unified process. More and more closely the solution of economic and sociopolitical tasks combines with the all-round development of man, his culture and his intellectual and moral maturity. That

however means: the conscious shaping of all these interconnections becomes increasingly important for the progress of socialism on the whole and for the development of its parts. With regard to our Weltanschauung we unmistakably discern the contours here of an inevitability that was already disclosed by the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism: the demands made on the revolutionary scientific Weltanschauung of the workers class of necessity grow objectively with the magnitude and depth of the social transformation to be achieved. "The greater the verve," wrote Lenin, "the greater the scope of the historic actions, the greater the number of people taking part in these actions, and inversely, the deeper the transformation we want to achieve, the more we must arouse interest in and conscious concern for it, must we convince ever new millions and millions of the need for it."³

In full accord with that realization, Comrade Erich Honecker has stressed: "Establishing the communist society is the most extensive and penetrating transformation of society. For that reason it calls for a maximum of awareness, party-mindedness, activity, organization and discipline--and not only among the vanguard but in the masses of the working people, in every citizen. The more perfect socialism becomes, the greater importance attaches to consciousness and creativity."⁴ At present, the demand for such a "maximum of awareness" arises mainly from the larger dimensions of our economy and the high demands for its efficiency. An indissoluble reciprocal connection exists here between our coping with the demands on our economic efficiency, the increasing role of the Marxist-Leninist Weltanschauung and the further development of the working people's socialist consciousness.

What is needed today is a significantly better quality and effectiveness of our public work. That places concrete demands on the working people. Among those demands are: saving working hours, the thriftiest handling of raw materials, energy and all material, optimum capacity use of machinery and installations, regular accounting of results achieved, and constant cost-benefit assessments. In the practical course of coping with such tasks we not only get a deeper understanding of economic processes and inevitabilities but also of the inevitable connection between economic development and further social progress. The working people gain deeper insights into the value and importance their everyday work has to the socialist commonweal. In connection with perceptive management and a creative political-ideological atmosphere, that "objective knowledge" is generated then which Engels defined as prerequisite to an increasingly conscious shaping of socialist social development, and which also includes knowing about the reciprocal interconnections between socialism's internal and external developmental conditions. And the greater and deeper the knowledge of these social interconnections and inevitabilities is, the more conscious is the dedication each will make to improving the quality and efficiency of his work--because that way he will realize the deep meaning of his dedication to socialist goals and ideals.

The greater role our scientific Weltanschauung has to play essentially is the consequence of two interconnected tasks. For one thing, the further shaping of the developed socialist society requires that the circle of working people who act in firm conviction on behalf of solving the tasks of our social development widens constantly. That strengthens the consciousness-molding function of our scientific Weltanschauung which orients and mobilizes what the working people do. And then, the further shaping of our socialist society constantly brings up new questions and problems that require theoretical generalizations and lead to new theoretical understanding. Such new understanding must then again be brought to the awareness of the working people and turned into the motivation for what they do. So one can see that in every new phase of socialist development higher demands are to be made on the Marxist-Leninist Weltanschauung and the conscious acts of the working people based on it.

New dimensions have arisen in the 1970's in the historic conflict between the world systems of socialism and capitalism. It is now worldwide and embraces all domains and aspects of public life, all of men's relations with their environment. The growing importance of the Marxist-Leninist Weltanschauung and of socialist consciousness doubtless also results from the intensification of the ideological class struggle that has accompanied this development. Essentially, the conflict in ideas is caused by the growing strength of radiation by real socialism and the Marxist-Leninist Weltanschauung. Because of the constant deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and the ever more evident inability of the imperialist system to solve the problems of humanity, the hopes of many working people have been deeply disappointed. Even bourgeois politicians and ideologues have to admit that discomfort is growing everywhere in the capitalist world. This has had the result that fundamental ideological questions have more and more become the focal point in the ideological class struggle. Among those questions are those that inquire into the inevitability of public life, the possibility and necessity of social change, the essence of man and the meaning of his existence, and the meaning of human and social values.

With increasing anxiety the imperialist ideologists find that their bourgeois Weltanschauung has no or no satisfactory answers to many of the questions that concern the working people and that Marxism, which more than once they have said was dead, is more alive than ever today in the spiritual life of the world and is constantly gaining attraction. To stop that, they have mobilized spiritually and developed an ideological campaign against socialism and its scientific doctrine at unprecedented scope and by using many different scientific and technical means. They do recognize and take account of the central role of the ideological problems in this conflict. A sociopolitical declaration of principle by imperialist circles in the FRG states that "basic ideological positions are confronted with each other that determine the practical content of politics and the rank of its objectives."⁵ Other publications clamor for "ideological" and "socio-philosophical" counterweights for protecting their "social market economy," another term for capitalism.

Having slid into the defensive in historic terms, the thought of the imperialist bourgeoisie is aimed at the struggle against the Weltanschauung of Marxism-Leninism. The attempt is being made to lend attractiveness to all the shades of that Weltanschauung and to pit them against real socialism and its ideological foundations. That is another reason why our own offensive on the ideological front, the persuasive propagation of our own Weltanschauung, of the advantages and accomplishments of socialism and its values and humanistic character, in combination with disclosing the ills of capitalism and their causes, is and remains one of the key issues in our party's ideological work. And that also is why it is so important to lend still greater weight to our world-transforming doctrine in the thoughts and actions of our citizens to "enable everyone to understand the world with its contradictions and to see the class barricades between socialism and capitalism."⁶

The Demands Placed on the Communists

The increasing importance of having the working people act consciously and the greater role of our scientific Weltanschauung that goes with it are inseparably intertwined with the growth of the Marxist-Leninist party as the leadership force of the workers class and of all the people. That follows from the nature of socialist developmental processes, being one scientifically planned and managed process. "The more far-reaching and complicated the management and planning tasks of all the sides and forms in the social processes become, the greater becomes the political leadership role for society by the Marxist-Leninist party." It "lends direction and purpose to the working people's conscious and systematic activities; it solidifies and reinforces socialist class consciousness; and it awakens and fosters the people's creative initiative for shaping the socialist society and way of life."⁷

Just as socialist society as a whole cannot arise spontaneously, a high social consciousness and mass activities based on it, as it conforms with socialism, do not form on their own. Rather, this is a dialectical process that runs through many stations of realization and practical participation in the construction of socialist society--a penetrating process of education and self-education by the workers class and the other working people. The Marxist-Leninist party plays the crucial role in this process. Its permanent task is to carry socialist consciousness into the masses and to ensure that the thinking and conduct of all is molded by the Marxist-Leninist Weltanschauung. There is nothing static in consciousness, after all. The new demands, tasks and problems arising from the development of the revolutionary world process, the ripening of socialism and the sharpening of the class conflict between the two social systems must be spiritually absorbed and comprehended. It also means always again working for firm class positions. Ideological work, therefore, is and remains the centerpiece of party work as the party concentrates its ideological effort always on "providing the workers class and all working people with the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism, explaining party policy to them, developing their socialist thinking,

feeling and conduct, mobilizing them for solving the tasks and steeling them against any influences from imperialist and bourgeois ideology."⁸

It is a very broad palette of tasks which thus confronts each basic organization and each communist. The public and individual experiences gained in the practical efforts of shaping socialist society play a fundamental role in the process of socialist consciousness development. The working people's experience that our party's course in aiming at full employment, prosperity, growth and stability has noticeably improved the lives of all, thus forms a spiritual feeding ground for more deeply understanding our policy, the humanistic nature of our order, its advantages and its superiority over capitalism. To create conditions like that everywhere, so that each individual in his daily work and experience gains the kind of insights that will induce and challenge him to devote all his strength to the continued shaping of the developed socialist society is as much part and parcel of consciousness development as the experiences gained in practical work and the daily experience with socialism lead to ever deeper insights into the nature and interconnections of socialist social development. Only recall in this connection the consciousness-forming strength of socialist democracy.

This kind of ideological work makes high demands on all communists, on their Marxist-Leninist knowledge, their power of conviction, their personal dedication. A thorough study of the works of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism and of the party documents, a vivid and creative use and practical application of our doctrine, and the mobilization of all for fulfilling the party resolutions form an inseparable unity in this. For it is a key issue in implementation of the ninth party congress decisions to reach and recruit everyone. For our work in indoctrination that means explaining the "what," "how" and "why" of our policy, disclosing causes and consequences of our objective economic and political processes and elucidating what consequences result from it for action.⁹

This is wholly the sense in which Comrade Erich Honecker has pointed out: "The more deeply the communists penetrate the world-transforming doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin and the essence of the resolutions from the ninth party congress and the Central Committee plena, the more they are able to cope with the social processes, solve the tasks in their fields, and perform vivid, broad and effective political mass activity."¹⁰ It is the party organizations' responsibility that an optimistic and compellingly progressive atmosphere develops in all party and work collectives and the party groups themselves prove themselves the motor force in their areas of activities. Leading all working people in fulfilling our outstanding tasks calls for more effective ideological work which allows no ideological calm anywhere.

FOOTNOTES

1. Erich Honecker, "Puer das Wohl des arbeitenden Menschen all unsere Kraft. Bericht des Zentralkomitees an den VIII. Parteitag der Sozialistischen

Einheitspartei Deutschlands (All Our Strength for the Good of Working Man--Central Committee Report to the Eighth SED Congress), "Reden und Aufsätze" (Speeches and Essays), Vol I, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1975, p 215.

2. Friedrich Engels, "Anti-Duehring," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 20, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 264.
3. V. I. Lenin, "Eighth All-Russian Soviet Congress," "Werke," Vol 31, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, pp 494-495.
4. Erich Honecker, "Die Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Verwirklichung der Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED" (The Party Tasks in the Further Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Resolutions), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1978, p 77.
5. "Fortschritt aus Idee und Leistung. Gesellschaftspolitische Grundsatz-erklaerung der Bundesvereinigung der Deutschen Arbeitgeberverbaende 1975" (Progress Through Ideas and Performance--Sociopolitical Declaration of Principle by the Federal Federation of German Entrepreneurs Associations 1975), Cologne, 1975, p 11.
6. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 129.
7. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, pp 65-66.
8. Ibid., p 66.
9. Cf. Klaus Gaebler, "High Effectiveness of Ideological Work," EINHEIT, No 12, 1979, p 1235.
10. "Dem 30. Jahrestag der DDR entgegen. Aus dem Schlusswort des Genossen Erich Honecker auf der 10. Tagung des ZK der SED" (Approaching the 30th GDR Anniversary--From the Concluding Speech of Comrade Erich Honecker at the 10th SED Central Committee Plenum), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1979, pp 196-197.

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SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 1, Jan 80 signed to press 7 Dec 79
'Resumes' addendum

[The Topic: National Liberation Movement Today

[Text] The following three contributions are published on this subject:

1) "Basic Trends of the National Liberation Movement" (pp 9-17), by Dr Egon Dummer, lecturer, and Dr Emil Langer, research program director, both at Institute for International Workers Movement, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; focusing on socialist orientation as the realistic and promising road of social progress; activities of social reformism; and on the new quality of the alliance with the community of socialist states.

[PLEASE NOTE: A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Outlook of Socialist States' Relations With LDC's Discussed," p 23 of this report.]

2) "The Nonaligned States in International Relations" (pp 18-230, by Prof Dr Renate Wuensche, department chief, Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence; discussing the characteristics of the movement and the results of the Sixth Havana Summit Conference.

3) "In the Struggle for Democratic Transformation of International Economic Relations" (pp 24-31), by Prof Dr Wolfgang Sproete, director, World Economy Department, Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence; focusing on capitalist crises processes and the resultant intensification of difficulties; imperialism's counterplan.

How Successful Have the Model Statutes Been in Our Socialist Agriculture?

[Summary of article by Margarete Mueller, candidate member, SED Central Committee Politburo; pp 39-45]

[Text] Preparing model statutes and model industrial regulations for the crop and animal production LPG's was an objective public requirement. The discussions about preparing them and working with them--which gives rise to growing demands for party work--have led to a deepening of our cooperative democracy. On their basis, the cooperative farmers' and workers' creative initiative keeps unfolding--as it does in the work with the cooperation councils. They are meeting their test as effective democratic bodies.

Increasing Effectiveness in Combines Through Innovator Procedures

[Summary of article by Dr Wolf Dietrich Hartmann, economist, lecturer, Institute for Socialist Economic Management, Bruno Leuschner College of Economics; pp 46-52]

[Text] Purposeful and committed management awakening the creative capacity of the whole collective is absolutely necessary to make the new ideas for strengthening our efficiency come into their own. This article deals with the prerequisites for that in our technical-scientific and political-ideological work. It also shows important criteria for judging a management activity aimed at innovation and increased efficiency.

High-Quality Consumer Goods for the Population and for Export

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Opitz, economist, general director, VEB Household Appliances Combine, Karl-Marx-Stadt; pp 53-60. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Combine Production Methods Seen Improving Consumer Goods, in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] How does the VEB Household Appliances Combine, through using scientific-technical data and good market research, ensure a production that meets the growing demands and requirements? What efforts are made to produce more of the goods in new demand? How does the combine's collective adjust to those demands? These are questions answered from the experiences of the one-year operation of the combine.

First People's Revolution in Era of Imperialism

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Johannes Zeit, lecturer, Institute for International Workers Movement, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 61-68]

[Text] Tribute is paid to the world historic importance of the 1905-1907 revolution in Russia as the first people's revolution in the era of imperialism and of the proletarian revolutions, the first bourgeois-democratic revolution in history when the proletariat asserted its hegemony and Lenin's strategy and tactics met their crucial test, a revolution demonstrating that the center of the international revolutionary movement had shifted to Russia. It accelerated the development of the revolutionary workers movement and had a lasting effect on the national liberation movements of the peoples in the east.

Imperialism's Aggressiveness and Struggle for Peace

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Horst Hemberger, department for political economy of capitalism, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee; pp 69-77]

[Text] Aggressiveness is a basic characteristic of imperialism emanating from its essence, the rule of monopoly capital. The future of all mankind is threatened today by imperialist aggressiveness aimed mainly against real socialism, the chief obstacle for the monopolies' expansionist drives, and against all forces of social progress. However, the forces defending themselves against the danger of war emanating from imperialism are stronger today than ever. Based on the real power of the forces of peace and socialism, the people's masses have to be mobilized against the policy of imperialism and the arms race emanating from it.

Pessimism--Expression of Imperialism's Futility

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Ludwig Elm, Marxism-Leninism Department, Friedrich Schiller University, Jena; pp 78-85]

[Text] Analysis of the causes, class nature and manifestations of the increasing ideological pessimism in bourgeois ideology in recent years

and its close connection with conservatism and its antiprogressive function. Issue is taken with ideological explanations for conservative-pessimistic concepts of society, especially the anthropologically tinged image of man, and with the attempt to excuse the frustration and futility expressed in that pessimism under the pretense that what we are confronted with is a general human problem of our era.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

RESULTS OF HONECKER'S 1979 TRIPS TO AFRICA ASSESSED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV in German Vol 13 No 1, Jan 80 signed to press
28 Dec 79 pp 40-49

[Article by Henning von Loewis of Menar: "The GDR As Pacesetter in the World Revolutionary Process--Honecker's Visits to Ethiopia and South Yemen." For translations of recent articles on the GDR's Africa policy see the following JPRS issues of this series: 74168, 12 Sep 79, No 1715, pp 19-33; 74098, 28 Aug 79, No 1712, pp 14-16; 74059, 22 Aug 79, No 1709, pp 1-4, and 73840, 13 Jul 79, No 1698, pp 20-35. Translations of articles cited in footnotes are available in JPRS reports as follows: footnote 15, article by Von Loewis of Menar, in 71153, 22 May 78, No 1537 of this series, pp 34-39; footnote 38, article by Kurt Krueger, in 74638, 26 Nov 79, No 1740 of this series, pp 39-50; and footnote 34, article by Junghahn and Schmidt, in 73195, 11 Apr 79, No 1879 of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS, pp 34-41]

[Text] In the foreign affairs of the German Democratic Republic 1979 could well be described as the year of Africa. The foreign affairs balance sheet of the past 12 months exemplifies Africa's outstanding role as the partner in East Berlin's foreign policy.

In the course of the 30th anniversary of the republic the top man of the second German state spent entire 3 weeks in the Third World and more than 2 weeks on the African Continent. Erich Honecker began his travels last January with a short trip to India. In February this was followed by a four-country African safari which took the SED chief to Libya, Angola, Zambia and Mozambique. And in November Honecker visited friends and comrades-at-arms of the GDR on both sides of the Red Sea--in Ethiopia and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. The spoils of this GDR political tourism were not inconsiderable. Honecker brought home treaties on friendship and cooperation from four of the seven countries he visited. In these four countries--the People's Republics of Angola and Mozambique, socialist Ethiopia and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen--the East German state clearly took precedence over its Western neighbor.

For the governments in Luanda and Maputo, in Addis Ababa and Aden, Germany nowadays means primarily the GDR; the Bonn republic represents an imperialist structure of the Western half-world, which is verbally attacked, maligned

and generally condemned. For Mozambique's state and party chief Samora Machel the Federal Republic of Germany is one of the "non-liberated areas" of the world.¹ The Frelimo leader considers Erich Honecker a "defender of democracy and peace against imperialism and its most aggressive forces."² In accordance with the style of his East Berlin prompters Angolas late President Agostinho Neto described the OTRAG project³ in Zaire (since canceled) as "FRG aggression against the peoples of Africa." Ethiopian military dictator Haile-Mariam Mengistu even took offense at the mere existence of West Berlin. To quote Mengistu: "The division of the city of Berlin--located in the center of the GDR--into two parts and the fact that one half is still controlled by the imperialists have had the result that this part became a propaganda stronghold and center of provocation against the German Democratic Republic. Without allowing itself to be intimidated in any way by pressure or campaigns, or to let itself be diverted from its goals, and in the knowledge that all these provocations are designed to foil its socialist construction, the people of the German Democratic Republic have persistently and by peaceful means met the challenge of their enemies and successfully built up a flourishing socialist social order."⁴

The acceptance by Afro-Asian states of East Berlin's view of the Germany policy could have disastrous consequences if the German issue were once again to come to the fore in the 1980's and 1990's. The conscious neglect of East German operations in Africa by leading West German politicians, their persistent and obvious arrogance toward the smaller and economically weaker German state, the Federal German media's superficial and inadequate reporting of the GDR's travel diplomacy in the Third World--all these are factors which, in the long run, may have very adverse effects indeed for the Federal Republic of Germany.

Ideology as an Export Item

After Honecker's most recent trip across the sea a GDR radio commentator noted that GDR relations with liberated Africa enjoyed a quality and intimacy "which many now envy us."⁵ That may be an exaggeration but has a kernel of truth. "Liberated Africa," where the GDR is the pacesetter, includes relatively few countries of the Continent, those which have inscribed Marxism-Leninism on their banners or at least demonstrate a socialist orientation.

In this group Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia represent three countries which occupy key positions in geo-strategic and economic respects. South Yemen also enjoys considerable importance on the geopolitical chessboard.

Erich Honecker's November trip to Addis Ababa and Aden was more than a courtesy visit to distant friends. At some of the most sensitive spots on the globe the leaders of the GDR party and government functioned as "representatives of the entire socialist community of nations"⁶ and reviewed the political situation--characterized by particular volatility--in the region of the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. In the Radio GDR series of transmissions "The World Yesterday--Today--Tomorrow" Guenter Leuschner commented this aspect of Honecker's visit as follows: "Ethiopia and the People's

Democratic Republic of Yemen are especially affected and threatened by the build-up of a more than 100,000 men strong strike force of the United States and the establishment of a new fifth American fleet in the Indian Ocean. A complete agreement of views was demonstrated by the discussion about the dangerous problems liable to arise from the growing imperialist readiness to intervene in this region--a danger which is reflected with particular cogency in the attitude of imperialism toward the events in Iran."

These days the German Democratic Republic feels itself the pacesetter of the world revolutionary process, second only to the Soviet Union. East Berlin considers the export of ideas and ideologies of hardly less importance than the export of goods. Similar to erstwhile European missionaries, SED politicians traveling to Africa carry devotional articles in their baggage--busts, pictures and wall hangings to the greater glory of the gods of Marxism, designed to reinforce the African peoples in their new faith. One of the climactic occasions in Honecker's trip to Ethiopia was the laying of the foundation stone for the first monument to Karl Marx on the African Continent. On that 13 November 1979 in Addis Ababa observers present there were offered a spectacular event: Thousands of workers, farmers and soldiers waving banners reading "long live GDR-Ethiopian friendship!"--"Long live proletarian internationalism!" The plinth where the Marx monument will be mounted some day, was decorated with the flags of Ethiopia, the GDR and the international workers movement. Applause surged when Erich Honecker and Haile-Mariam Mengistu unveiled a tablet with the inscription "Karl Marx Square--13 November 1979." A band of the revolutionary armed forces intoned the Internationale and the anthems of the GDR and Socialist Ethiopia. Directly in front of the plinth, their fists raised, stood the most powerful men of the second German state and their Ethiopian comrades-at-arms.

At a "holy place," according to atheist Honecker, the state visitor from East Berlin meditated on the "growth and prosperity of the socialist world system."⁸

The following is a commentary by the MORGEN, the daily organ of the GDR Liberal Democratic Party: "When Erich Honecker and Haile-Mariam Mengistu laid the foundation stone for a Karl Marx monument in Addis Ababa, this represented a historic moment for the Black Continent. Ethiopia is not Africa. But laid in Addis Ababa was the foundation stone of a signpost--not only for Ethiopia but for Africa as a whole."⁹

The SED chief announced to the newly converted Ethiopians that socialism was advancing victoriously in Karl Marx's native country--here Honecker must have meant Germany because there was no GDR when Karl Marx was born on the present territory of the Federal Republic of Germany.¹⁰

Altogether this visit was not short of absurdities and quirkiness. Haile-Mariam Mengistu most certainly took the prize, though, when he invested Erich Honecker with the order "Grand Star of Honor of Socialist Ethiopia." The following is a verbatim report of Mengistu's address to his visitor from

East Berlin: "We Marxist-Leninists assume--and reiterate this constantly--that history, though made by the broad masses, has repeatedly thrown up individuals as leading personalities and heroes, and these are therefore worthy of a place in history...Such great heroes, such famed leaders, philosophers and thinkers were Marx and Engels, Lenin, Tolstoy, Tchaikovsky, Mozart and the many heroic fighters on the battlefields."¹¹

Marx must be turning in his grave in contemplation of that which was done--and continues to be done--in his name in Ethiopia, a country which aims to illuminate a somber revolution by "red marches" and "red terror."

In their revolutionary experiments the Ethiopian rulers are guided by the example and model of the Soviet Union. The most prominent guest at the celebrations on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Ethiopian revolution in September 1979 was Premier Aleksei Kosygin who presented a bust of Lenin as the gift of the Soviet Government.¹² High ranking delegations were also sent by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the People's Republic of Bulgaria and--of course--the German Democratic Republic. The news magazine NEW AFRICAN reported the following about Ethiopia: "Five years after the fall of the monarchy in Ethiopia the country which Emperor Haile Selassie once ruled like a medieval king, has become Africa's most communist oriented state."¹³

For the benefit of Erich Honecker for whom he said he felt "the greatest affection, admiration and respect" Ethiopia's head of state Haile-Mariam Mengistu described himself somewhat modestly as a "beginner in the revolutionary struggle" but at the same time also as a "fighter and genuine communist."¹⁴

Faithful Ally of the Ethiopian Military Junta

True, Mengistu did fight, though not on the battlefields of Ogaden and Eritrea, where Cubans, South Yemenis and even GDR Germans did combat on his behalf; he fought for power in Ethiopia--and did so most tenaciously. In February 1977 he personally shot and killed his predecessor Brigadier Teferi Benti. The SED central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND exulted at the liquidation of "this Trojan horse," and Politburo member Werner Lamberz took the road to Addis Ababa in order from that time on until his death to act as the patron of the Ethiopian revolution.¹⁵

When the military junta in Addis Ababa was up to its neck in trouble, East Berlin launched a major rescue operation. The SED leadership was aware of the fact that a powerful impetus on the solidarity front was needed to ensure the survival of the Mengistu regime which was threatened on all sides. In his report to the first secretaries of the SED leadership organizations in February 1978 Erich Honecker spoke of a "conspiracy against revolutionary Ethiopia." At that time Honecker appraised the situation as follows:

"What are the intentions of the United States in alliance with the FRG, other imperialist powers and the most reactionary states in the Mideast? In the

course of the Ethiopian revolution against the backward feudal regime they lost their influence in that country, their bases on Ethiopian soil and thus strategic positions crucial for the entire region. They want to regain these positions. They want to strangle the Ethiopian revolution which has removed the imperialist bases and the conditions for the neocolonialist domination of the country, and which influences the peoples of the entire African Continent."¹⁶

The GDR acted quickly, more so than any other socialist country. Ethiopia's rulers repaid this East German aid by expelling the West German ambassador and addressing fulsome compliments to the SED state. In May 1979 Haile-Mariam Mengistu said to National People's Army General Heinz Hoffmann: "When our situation grew critical the GDR was the first to aid us; we will never forget that."¹⁷ According to Mengistu the GDR has gained "a last place in the history of the Ethiopian revolution."¹⁸

As in other countries of the African Continent the German Democratic Republic operates in Ethiopia also as a pillar and guarantor of a regime of blood and terror. The FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG reported the following about conditions in Ethiopia 5 years after the revolution: "Gone is the time of official terror, when people in Addis Ababa were shot day in day out. But the quiet is deceptive. It is not possible even approximately to estimate how many prisoners are held in Ethiopia. The reports circulating about hunger, disease, mortality and torture in the jails are most depressing."¹⁹

Erich Honecker bears some of the responsibility for the repression in Ethiopia and takes care of perfecting it by sending specialists from the Ministry for State Security. He is not averse to laud Ethiopia as an admirable example. In Addis Ababa Honecker said: "The example of Ethiopia enables everyone to see that national independence results in a decent life for the people only when it is coupled with liberation from imperialist exploitation. In this meaning also the Ethiopian revolution is outstanding in enriching the African peoples struggle for liberation."²⁰

Honecker decorated his host Haile-Mariam Mengistu with the order "Grand Star of the People's Friendship." This is what the SED chief had to say about the murderer of Brigadier Teferi Benti: "We honor you today as an eminent African statesman and politician, as a courageous patriot and revolutionary who devoted all his strength and energy to the liberation of his people from servitude and exploitation, the construction of a new and dignified life."²¹

These words were bound to sound like the sheerest mockery in the ears of the victims of the Ethiopian military regime.

Military Aid for Addis Ababa

Junta chief Mengistu mentioned in passing only that Ethiopia is still at war. As a result of the victories of the popular masses and the revolutionary army, said the dictator at a dinner in honor of Honecker, armed combat in the eastern, southern and nother administrative regions had declined.²²

The victories cited involved more than 15,000 Cuban soldiers.²³ The National People's Army of the GDR also helped in the victories on the battlefields and in the crises of Ethiopia. Erich Honecker visited one of the wellsprings of these victories--the training camp of the people's militias "Tatek" and "Arm Yourselves." Addressing thousands of combatants who enthusiastically welcomed Honecker and Mengistu on Red Star Square on a high plain 30 km from Addis Ababa, camp commandant Col Getaneh Haile said: "Proudly and with internationalist sentiments we remember that the GDR was one of the first socialist countries to support our cause. In the darkest hours the GDR sent her dear son and glowing internationalist, the late Comrade Werner Lamberz, who more than once visited our training camp and strengthened our belief that victory would be ours."²⁴

Erich Honecker candidly revealed how and why Lamberz encouraged and reinforced the Ethiopians. In Tatek camp Honecker said:

"The German Democratic Republic did not hesitate a single moment when it was a matter of sending you weapons and bread so that you were able successfully to conduct your struggle."²⁵

To service the weapons and distribute the bread East Berlin also sent some military men. Honecker deliberately omitted that fact.

The Ethiopians are less reticent. In the summer of 1979 the revolutionary armed forces of Ethiopia adopted a resolution; item 12 reads:

"We, the members of the revolutionary armed forces of Ethiopia, are obligated for ever to the true socialist governments, parties and peoples of the Soviet Union, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen who, at a time when we fought reactionary subversion at home and foreign imperialist aggression at our borders, not only gave us moral, material and diplomatic support but sent us members of their armed forces who were wounded and died with us."²⁶

The military links between East Berlin and Addis Ababa are facts which no denial can alter. Taha Mohammed, spokesman of the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), asserted in 1979 that the GDR had put 5,000 additional specialists at the disposal of Ethiopia for the purpose of "destroying the Eritreans."²⁷ That figure may be exaggerated, the fact of GDR aid for repression is undeniable.

Economic and Political Links

No less intensive are relations in the civilian sphere. Next to Angola and Mozambique Ethiopia is now the GDR's closest partner in Africa. Many government agreements have been concluded, including some relating to trade, business, culture, science, technology, consular representation and aviation. East Berlin and Addis Ababa agreed on cooperation in planning, communications, public education and sports.²⁸ The GDR sent some 2,000 experts

to Ethiopia.²⁹ Klaus Willerding, deputy foreign minister and fellow traveler of Honecker, said in an interview with the radio station "Voice of the GDR": "Working in Ethiopia are teachers, lecturers, physicians, technicians and engineers to help overcome the bad legacy of the feudal-capitalist era. Many Ethiopian citizens are trained at colleges and technical schools as well as other educational facilities of the GDR in order later effectively to work in the social and economic life of Ethiopia."³⁰

At Karl Marx University in Leipzig Ethiopian college instructors are familiarized with the concepts of Marx, Engels and Lenin.³¹ At the "School of Solidarity" in Berlin and in Addis Ababa itself GDR journalists acquaint future Ethiopian reporters with the principles of SED journalism.³² The GDR commitment in Ethiopia ranges to the training of "artists of various nationalities."³³

Trade relations between the two countries are developing with particular emphasis. Foreign trade turnover shot from 0.2 million valuta marks in 1976 to 178.2 million valuta marks in 1977.³⁴ This took Ethiopia to second place after Egypt in the ranking of GDR trading partners on the African Continent. East Berlin supplies mainly trucks, tractors, combine harvesters and other farm machines and imports farm produce from Ethiopia. In 1977 and 1978 Ethiopia achieved a substantial trade surplus. In an interview with the foreign service of Radio Addis Ababa Ethiopian Minister of Foreign Trade Chekol Wollie commented the prospects of economic cooperation with East Berlin as follows: "We hope and expect that, with the financial and technical aid of the GDR, we will be able to construct a major cement plant, and in the sector of the textile industry we also hope, with the financial and technical aid of the GDR, to build major textile factories."³⁵

As Werner Lamberz assured Haile-Mariam Mengistu in 1977, the GDR had computed the relevant figures "in order to grant Ethiopia unlimited economic aid in all sectors."³⁶

The German Democratic Republic is incurring a good deal of expense in its commitment to Ethiopia. Ethiopia is an outstanding experimental site for testing Eastern export communism in Africa. From the aspect of SED ideology "socialist Ethiopia" represents one of "two points where the struggle between the peoples of Africa and imperialism crystallizes" (the other is southern Africa).³⁷ When it is a matter of establishing Afro-communist fraternal countries, the GDR is wholeheartedly committed.

An important step in the process of linking socialist oriented African states to the Soviet sphere of power is the conclusion of treaties of friendship and cooperation. The signature of a 20-year friendship treaty was therefore the climax as well as the final act in Honecker's Ethiopia visit.

In Addis Ababa the SED chief signed the third GDR treaty of friendship with a nominally unaligned country; in Aden, the capital of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the fourth.

The Development of the GDR Commitment in South Yemen

The GDR commitments in Ethiopia and South Yemen demonstrate flagrant and terrifying parallels. According to official claims East Berlin exercises "solidarity with the people of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen against their internal and external enemies and for the construction of a socialist oriented society, free of exploitation."³⁸ One of the "internal enemies" was Robaya 'Ali Salim who had headed the presidium of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen for 9 years. When Robaya 'Ali Salim arrived in East Berlin in 1974 on a visit of friendship, the SED leadership extended a fulsome welcome. In 1978, when he was shot dead by his old comrades, Erich Honecker sent a congratulatory telegram. Honecker characterized Robaya 'Ali Salim's execution as "successful defense" against a "dangerous conspiracy." "With great satisfaction have we acknowledged the report by the Central Committee of the National Front United Political Organization on the suppression of the attempted coup by a group of rightist forces in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen," that is how the SED chief cabled Aden. At the same time he said that the GDR and the SED would continue to do everything possible "to deepen fraternal friendship with the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and develop cooperation in every field."³⁹

The fraternal bonds between the SED state and the most radical republic of Arabia--a preferred asylum for European terrorists--date back to the 1960's. South Yemen received its independence in 1967 after 128 years of British rule in the Crown Colony of Aden. It joined the Eastern domain at a relatively early stage. Immediately after eliminating the moderate political forces by the so-called movement of correction in June 1969, the governments in Aden and East Berlin agreed to establish diplomatic relations. The decision to recognize the GDR is said to have been discussed for no more than 5 minutes because there was no conflict of opinion on the matter, reported Robaya 'Ali Salim in East Berlin in 1974.⁴⁰

After Iraq, the Sudan and Syria, South Yemen was the fourth Arab country to breach the diplomatic blockade imposed on the GDR by the Federal Republic of Germany. Bonn acknowledged this step by freezing bilateral relations. East Berlin honored it with a \$7.5 million loan.⁴¹

In July 1969 a government delegation, led by Gerhard Weiss, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, visited Aden. In October of the same year Foreign Trade Minister Horst Spelle signed several agreements settling the terms of GDR aid for South Yemen.⁴²

Though the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen is one of the poorest countries in the world and quite unable to offer any return to the GDR in economic terms, from the political aspect it has developed into one of the closest partners of the second German state. East Berlin granted millions of loans, built a grain mill and a telecommunication exchange, sent off to Aden economic advisers and agricultural experts, physicians and teachers, party propagandists and youth functionaries, officers of the state security service and

the NVA [National People's Army] as instructors. When South Yemen organized a people's militia--a 20,000 strong reserve force of the state party--GDR works combat units served as the model.

The specialists from the East Berlin state security service dispatched to South Yemen helped in the build-up and expansion of the secret police called "Tansim." They initiated an institution ruthlessly used by the rulers in Aden when it is a matter of destroying political opponents. And that has always been pretty much a permanent preoccupation of the respective rulers in South Yemen.

According to reliable reports GDR citizens are actively involved in interrogations and torture in the prisons and penal camps of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.⁴³ An American clergyman who fell into the hands of the "Tansim" was visibly surprised in the south of the Arab Peninsula to make the unwelcome acquaintance of German guards.

The British news magazine NOW commented that South Yemen has been turned into a repressive police state where the East German security police is using Gestapo methods. NOW correspondent Christopher Dobson reported from southern Arabia: "Russians and Cubans, while not popular, are tolerated. The East Germans, on the other hand, are hated. Refugees fleeing to Oman across the desert borders tell moving stories--of opponents to the regime who are dragged through the streets behind trucks, of beatings, torture and concentration camps. Al Mansour, the former British prison, is the headquarters for interrogations. When a South Yemeni talks to a foreigner without prior permission, that is where he is taken. The East Germans hold so much power that they are able to arrest, interrogate and execute without consulting the government."⁴⁴

In November 1979 state and party chief 'Abd al-Fatah Isma'il said to official visitor Erich Honecker: "In the construction of the revolutionary society for our people and in the consolidation of the values of friendship and peace among the peoples we are guided by the resolution and persistence of our GDR allies."⁴⁵

Even the constitution of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen shows the handwriting of the GDR. The constitution says: "All political power in the People's Republic of Yemen is in the hands of the working people. The firm alliance between the working class, the farmers and the small bourgeoisie is an unshakeable base of the national democratic revolution in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen."⁴⁶

The rulers in Aden rewarded the East Berlin co-author of their constitution with a handmade dagger in a silver sheath, the most prestigious gift the country has to offer. At the Ninth SED Congress in May 1976, Foreign Minister Salim Salih Muhammad praised the "steadily tighter combat alliance between the parties and peoples of the GDR and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen."⁴⁷ The links between the unequal partners are most clearly demonstrated in the intensive travel diplomacy between East Berlin and Aden. In

September 1976 Willi Stoph traveled to South Yemen on an official visit in his capacity as chairman of the Council of State; a few months later Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer flew to Aden. The following year Politburo members Werner Lamberz and Heinz Hoffmann, GDR defense minister, journeyed to the south Arab people's republic. Lamberz took along solidarity goods to the value of M10 million; Hoffmann inspected military units and was concerned about the "reinforcement of the people's democratic system."⁴⁸

Friendship and Strategy

South Yemen has a 1,100 km long coastline running between Oman and Bab al-Mandab; it owns the Kuria Muria, Socotra, Perim and Kamar Islands and therefore holds a key geostrategic position. The Gulf of Aden is a favorite operational region of the Soviet fleet in the Indian Ocean. Various weapons for Ethiopia were transshipped in Aden. In Aden NVA officers have trained Yemeni soldiers for the war against the West Somalian Liberation Front.

From a base at Aden operate the partisans of the Oman People's Liberation Front whom the GDR is giving more than sympathy. Captured guerrillas of the PFLO reported that they had been trained in East Germany.⁴⁹ Western oriented Oman has long been a target of East Berlin attacks. Only recently the weekly HORIZONT excoriated the "neocolonialist goals of the Washington-Muscat alliance." Oman's ruler, Sultan Qaboos bin Said, it claimed, receives "massive imperialist support" because he is ready to act as the "watchdog of the tanker route." HORIZONT commented the importance of the Musandam Peninsula (owned by Oman) as follows: "The 40 km wide strait of Hormuz which links the Persian Gulf with the Gulf of Oman can be controlled from Musandam. According to estimates about two thirds of the oil imported from the Near and Middle East travel through this 'eye of the needle.' Every 8 minutes a tanker passes along this route."⁵⁰

On the occasion of the 1978 visit to Berlin by Muahamad 'Ali Nasir, chairman of the council of ministers, Willi Stoph emphasized "the role of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen in the struggle for peace and security in the region of the Red Sea."⁵¹ In translation this describes the function of South Yemen as the revolutionary outpost on the Arab Peninsula and jumping-off point for the Soviet Union on the way to Africa. Erich Honecker's satisfaction at the news of the liquidation of Robaya 'Ali Salim was due to his relief at the knowledge that, by this means, South Yemen's drift from the Soviet sphere of power had once again been prevented: The murderers claimed that the assassinated chief of state had tried "in alliance with reactionary and imperialist circles to sow doubts in the correctness of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen's relations with the socialist community, especially the Soviet Union."⁵²

The current rulers in South Yemen are above any such suspicion. Though the creation of a Marxist-Leninist cadre party is still an unfulfilled item on Ethiopia's program, the Yemenite Socialist Party (YSP), constituted in Aden in 1978, represents an exotic scion of the CPSU and the SED.

Erich Honecker sent "fraternal battle greetings" to Aden and indicated the "many indissoluble links of friendship" which the SED had already tied with the predecessor organization of the YSP.⁵³ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reported the constituent congress of that party on its front page for 6 days running. The GDR had been the obstetrician. The first cadres from South Yemen had graduated in 1972 from the Karl Marx Party School at the SED Central Committee. Erich Honecker was able to note that the graduates of this cadre nursery had learned their lessons well. 'Ali Ahmad Muhammad, council chairman, assured the guest from East Berlin: "Our people are convinced that the socialist approach is the correct approach, at the side of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community."⁵⁴

The Yemeni politician gained this conviction at the Karl Marx Party School. The party secretary also learned his trade in East Berlin. Erich Honecker reinforced the faith of the Yemeni comrades. He presented a bust of Karl Marx to the Aden college for scientific socialism, where guest lecturers from the SED and CPSU are hard at work. The SED chief addressed the director of the college as follows: "I have been told that this new school, an abode of Marxist-Leninist studies, is a gift from the CPSU. The Soviet Union is the main force not only in the dissemination of scientific communism, it is also in the lead for changing the world--in accordance with Karl Marx' challenge."⁵⁵

The GDR is doing its best to help this change along. Its foreign policy is aimed at "strengthening and expanding the anti-imperialist alliance." According to Hermann Axen: "We are conscious of the obligations of our republic in the revolutionary world process arising from the socialist revolution in the GDR."⁵⁶

When the Dictatorships Topple

East Berlin interprets the expensive overseas commitment as pioneering in the service of the communist global strategy; the dictators in the Afro-Arab region, who maintain links of friendship with the SED state, are usually concerned primarily with keeping themselves in power. They know that they can rely on the Germans and exploit that fact.

Many of the words and deeds, even the treaties on friendship and cooperation Honecker brought back from Aden and Addis Ababa, clearly disclose the wish to escape from the all too tight grasp of the GDR.⁵⁷ Despite the powerful Marx spectacle staged in the Ethiopian capital, the treaty of friendship does not even mention Marxism-Leninism.

Haile-Mariam Mengistu obviously has more urgent problems in Ethiopia than the establishment of a Marxist-Leninist party, though this has long been urged on him by his Eastern allies. And 'Abd al-Fatah Isma'il--in contrast to Erich Honecker--is fighting not only for the realization of socialist utopias but far more resolutely for the reunion of his homeland Yemen, now split in two. The SED chief, on the other hand, wisely refrains even in

distant Aden to pronounce the word reunion. Instead he endeavors to drum up support for Brezhnev's Berlin "peace initiative."

Just as in Europe Erich Honecker tends to act in Africa and Asia also as the agent of Soviet interests. The GDR, in many cases to the accompaniment of draconian measures, helps cement the ideological and geostrategic influence of the Soviet Union. According to the credible reports by directly affected eyewitnesses it does so in evident violation of human rights.

In the long run these operations do not redound to the glory of the highly prestige conscious second German state in the Third World. When the dictators are toppled--and that will happen one of these days in Aden and Addis also, just as it did in 1979 in Uganda, Equatorial Guinea and the Central African Empire--those who backed the superseded despots may have a hard time. When Idi Amin was expelled, documents were found in the archives of the Uganda secret police, which incriminated the GDR--an experience which should have taught East Berlin a lesson.

FOOTNOTES

1. Agencia de Informacao de Moçambique, INFORMATION BULLETIN No 30, December 1978, p 12.
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4. NATIONAL-ZEITUNG, 14 November 1979.
5. Guenter Leuschner, for example, in the transmission "The World Yesterday --Today--Tomorrow," Radio DDR 1, 19 November 1979, 19.12 hours, quoted by RIAS Monitoring Service, 19 November 1979, p 2.
6. Walter Gieseemann, "The Journey and the Signpost," DER MORGEN, 20 November 1979.
7. Guenter Leuschner, as before (note 5).
8. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 14 November 1979.
9. Walter Gieseemann, as before (note 6).
10. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 14 November 1979.
11. DER MORGEN, 13 November 1979.
12. B. Asoyan, "Aleksei Kosygin: Promising Cooperation," NEUE ZEIT (Moscow), No 39/1979, pp 4f.

13. "Red Star Over Ethiopia," NEW AFRICAN, No 147, November 1979, p 8.
14. DER MORGEN, 13 November 1979.
15. See Henning von Loewis of Menar, "The African Legacy of Werner Lamberz,"
DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV Vol 11/1978, No 4, pp 348 ff.
16. "The Tasks of the SED in the Further Implementation of the Ninth Party
Congress Resolutions," NATIONAL-ZEITUNG, 20 February 1978.
17. "With Friends in the South and on the Horn of Africa," interview with
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18. Radio Addis Ababa, home service (in Amharic), 30 May 1979, 17.00 hours,
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19. Karl-Alfred Odin, "The Quiet in Ethiopia Is Deceptive," FRANKFURTER ALLGE-
MEINE ZEITUNG, 26 October 1979.
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p 383.
21. DER MORGEN, 13 November 1979.
22. DER MORGEN, 14 November 1979.
23. David Newsom, U.S. Undersecretary for Political Affairs, figured the Cuban
presence in Ethiopia at 16,500 armed men; WIRELESS BULLETIN FROM WASHING-
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24. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 14 November 1979.
25. GDR television service, 15 November 1979, 18.49 hours, quoted by DEUTSCHE
WELLE, Monitoring Service, German section, 16 November 1979, p 3.
26. ETHIOPIA. NEWS, VIEWS, FEATURES, Bonn, 6 July 1979, quoted from
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27. NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, 9 August 1979.
28. See Willy Ladwig, "Firmly Allied to Ethiopia," HORIZONT, Vol 11/1978,
No 49, p 4.
29. Jean-Claude Pomonti, "Ethiopia Taken in Hand," LE MONDE, 6 November 1979.

30. Interview with Dr Klaus Willerding, deputy minister for foreign affairs, on the occasion of the official visit of friendship to Ethiopia by a GDR party and state delegation, "Voice of the GDR," Reports on Topical Events, 11 November 1979, 18.00 hours, quoted by RIAS Monitoring Service, 11 November 1979, p 3.
31. DER MORGEN, 30 August 1979.
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39. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 29 June 1978.
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41. Research Institute of the German Society for Foreign Affairs (publishers), "Die Taetigkeit der DDR in den Nichtkommunistischen Laendern. VI. Arabische Staaten und Israel" [GDR Operations in Noncommunist Countries. VI. Arab States and Israel], by Siegfried Kupper, Bonn 1971, p 74.
42. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 16 October 1969.
43. See Joachim Nawrocki: "Hoffmann's 'Africa Corps'," DIE ZEIT, 26 May 1978.
44. Christopher Dobson, "South Yemen--The Arab State Gripped by a Soviet Reign of Terror," NOW, 2 November 1979, p 63.
45. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 17/18 November 1979.

46. Quoted from Gambke/Jacob/Maetzig, "Sultanspalaeeste in Volkes Hand--Die Volksdemokratische Republik Jemen" [The Palaces of the Sultans in the Hands of the People--The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen], Berlin 1974, p 149. See also Oswald Unger, "The Constitution for the National-Democratic Stage of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen," STAAT UND RECHT, Vol 20/1971, No 7, pp 1158 ff.
47. "IX. Parteitag der SED, Berlin 18-22 Mai 1976. Begruessungsansprachen der Vertreter der Bruderparteien" [Ninth SED Congress, Berlin 18-22 May 1976, Welcoming Addresses by the Representatives of the Fraternal Parties], Berlin 1976, p 129.
48. "GDR Military Delegation in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen," HORIZONT interview with Army General Heinz Hoffmann, Vol 10/1977, No 48, p 3.
49. See Avigdor Haselkorn, "The Evolution of Soviet Security Strategy 1965-1975," New York 1978, p 78.
50. Guenter Poeschl, "Guards on the Tanker Route," HORIZONT, Vol 12/1979, No 42, p 19.
51. AUSSENPOLITISCHE KORRESPONDENZ, Vol 22/1978, No 4, 26 January 1978, p 29.
52. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 30 June 1978.
53. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 11 October 1978.
54. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 17/18 November 1979.
55. Ibid.
56. Hermann Axen, as before (note 37), p 930.
57. The treaties on friendship and cooperation between the GDR and Socialist Ethiopia and the GDR and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen were published in AUSSENPOLITISCHE KORRESPONDENZ, Vol 23/1979, No 47, pp 377 and 386 ff.

11698
CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

1980 COURT PRIORITIES DISCUSSED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 35, 3 Mar 80 pp 1-2

[Report from Berlin: "Political Offenses and Economic Crimes To Be the Focus of GDR Criminal Justice." A translation of the East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ article referred to below follows this commentary]

[Text] By orders of the East Berlin Ministry of Justice and the GDR Supreme Court, measures against political and economic crimes are to be the focus of criminal justice this year. Kreis court directors have received appropriate guidelines at several conferences. It must not be allowed, as the semi-official East Berlin journal NEUE JUSTIZ comments, "that anti-detente imperialist forces jeopardize the security of transit routes by criminal ways and means, violate order along the national borders, commit military espionage, engage in ideological diversion in our country and commit other crimes which endanger peaceful living and security in our country." The courts furthermore had to make an important contribution in the protection of socialist property and the economy. Crimes against foreign economic relations, material and financial assets, the materials economy, production and commerce should be thoroughly brought into the open and the offenders should be punished appropriately. The courts should place "greater importance on foreign currency violations, customs offenses and criminal tax evasions."

Enumeration of Tasks

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 34 No 2, Feb 80 pp 50-51

[Article by Dr Herbert Kern, state secretary, GDR Ministry of Justice, and Dr Guenter Sarge, first vice president, GDR Supreme Court: "On the Work of the Courts in 1980"]

[Text] In January this year conferences were held in all GDR bezirks with the directors of the kreis courts. These conferences led to important results with regard to our work in the past as well as to our future tasks.

They were prepared jointly by the Ministry of Justice and the Supreme Court and gave evidence to the ability and readiness of the courts of our country to take an active part in solving the problems of our time, on the basis of our party resolutions and the laws of our republic, to administer legality and justice by uniform criteria, ensure in every way the protection and safety of our country's citizens, and strengthen the authority of our socialist state power.

In the discussions it was emphasized that the courts on all levels are placing the focus of their work on the tasks staked out by the 11th SED Central Committee plenum, especially in the "further strengthening of socialist state power, the development of socialist democracy, the safeguarding of order, discipline and security, and the enforcing of socialist legality."¹

Protection of Socialist Society and Its Citizens

The orientation and the requirements of the 11th Central Committee plenum, which was combined with a review of the state of implementation of the ninth party congress resolutions, also set down criteria for the work of every judge, notary, the nonlegal cadre and the activities of our volunteer assistants. It mainly involves a greater political responsibility by the courts for protecting our socialist society from hostile assaults and other criminal acts, for strengthening our state power and state authority, for securing the concerns of our economy and ensuring the interests of our citizens, primarily the rigorous protection of our people's life, health and property.

The courts have made their own the ninth party congress task for consolidating the socialist legal order and ensuring all-round secure legality in our country, and they have contributed through many initiatives to having our citizens' security in their daily lives become an accepted fact, being part and parcel now of the socialist qualities of life.

The addiction, mainly of youth, to narcotics in the capitalist world, the permanent threat by Mafia gangsterism to citizens in capitalist countries, by prostitution and terrorism, juvenile delinquency on the rise and increasing crimes in imperialist states which go together with their unemployment and lack of perspectives--all that is alien to us. Among the undisputed duties of our courts is that they will permit no effects of those manifestations on our country.

Looking at crime in our country and at what it currently is in some Western countries illuminates how much of an achievement the socialist society may boast also in this complicated field. The GDR has a record of annually circa 750 crimes (traffic offenses included) per 100,000 inhabitants. But the United States has more than 5,000, the FRG circa 5,500, and Great Britain circa 4,000 crimes within the same frame of reference. (And in those countries, to be sure, traffic offenses are usually recorded separately).²

The 11th Central Committee plenum has reiterated that it be "guaranteed by the organs of security and justice that the socialist state and social order and the rights and interests of the citizens continue to be reliably protected in the future from criminal assaults and every offender be brought to trial."³

With strict regard for the material and procedural law regulations, the courts now have, in particular, the following duties:

The state and social order of the GDR must be reliably protected. It is inadmissible that anti-detente imperialist forces jeopardize the security of transit routes by criminal ways and means, violate order along the national border, commit military espionage, engage in ideological diversion in our country and commit other crimes which endanger peaceful living and security in our country.

The GDR's state security is of concern to all because it is a basic matter for the peaceful life and prosperity of our people.

The courts have to make an important contribution to the protection of socialist property and of the economy. Crimes against foreign economic relations, material and financial assets, the materials economy, production and commerce must be thoroughly brought into the open, favoring circumstances have to be disclosed, and the offenders must be punished appropriately. Offenders must rapidly and completely pay damages. The courts must place greater importance on foreign currency violations, customs offenses and criminal tax evasions.

Our national income, hard earned as it is by our working people, deserves our rigorous protection. That also applies to making more of an effort against damage at sea and fires.

The protection of our country's citizens from damage through criminal acts warrants all our attention. It belongs among the feelings of comfort in our socialist society that one can be sure the socialist state will resolutely protect the life, health and property and all other constitutional rights of the citizens.

That applies particularly to those citizens who are engaged in the protection of public order, security and discipline. More and more the courts rely on the public capacity, especially on the working people's activities in the enterprises, and on the social organs, for producing an atmosphere of intolerance toward all kinds of law violations. To promote such activities, the press will publish pertinent information. Our country's citizens have shown much activity and confidence in the struggle by the security organs and organs of justice and have supported them in the enforcing of socialist legality.

The kreis court directors conferences have confirmed that the courts are administering the criminal laws with an increasing degree of discrimination and are making better use of the whole range of the laws for crime prevention. We must further develop the opportunities we have for fighting against the disposition toward crime. That also includes constructive information for enterprises, facilities and institutions which can work preventatively and doing good work with the legal tools of court critique. Better use also still should be made of the possibilities mentioned in the laws by which society can exercise an influence through educating offenders outside any criminal procedures.

Our laws permit a fine differentiation between offense, offender and punishment, which should receive strict consideration in every individual case in our daily administration of justice.

The Effectiveness of Civil, Family, and Labor Law Jurisdiction

Crime fighting, however, is only one side of what our courts do.

Our legal courts answer circa half a million legal inquiries each year without cost from our citizens. That suggests our judges and the other associates are very busy. It also suggests our people's great interest in socialist law and our citizens' trust in our socialist state power.

To lend greater skill to this task is a most general task.

But also the approximately 80,000 family matters and the circa 40,000 civil matters the courts have to handle each year call for a sense of political responsibility, legal skill, human empathy, and close cooperation with all authorities concerned and with the citizens.

There is hardly an area in the life of our country where socialist law would not play a role. This role is responsive to the interests of all society and of the individual citizen.

The courts also are facing important and significant tasks in the field of civil, family and labor law. These fields in the administration of justice likewise require the enforcing of socialist legality by uniform criteria throughout the land, the settling of citizens' conflicts in conformity with the interests of the individual and those of society, and the support for overall social objectives, mainly in the economic field. Ensuring legal procedure, the protection and strict observance of the rights of the participants, and further improvement for the social effectiveness of procedures while reducing procedural expenditures are matters deserving of the attention of the kreis court directors and of every judge dealing with these matters. From the many tasks in the fields referred to a few ought to be mentioned especially:

The labor code will have to be still more effectively enforced in its unity of rights and duties. The courts also ought to bring their influence to bear on using the labor code better and more aggressively in industrial management activity in the issue taken over high labor productivity, good labor discipline and the all-round protection of socialist property.

The courts have to see to it that jurisprudence in innovator litigations helps in supporting that activity effectively. Our special attention is warranted for creative ideas of the working people that have to do, above all, with rationalization.

Comprehensive protection of socialist property and of the citizens' fair interests also must be ensured by means of civil law. That would include an effective and consistent execution of decisions. The focus of our efforts here lies on apartment rental matters. Jurisdiction in this field mainly serves to support the housing construction program in our country. The courts should in this connection, in close cooperation with the rental enterprises and the tenants' associations, help in assuring the rental payment discipline and pay much attention to maintenance problems for the sake of the upkeep and optimum use of available housing space and promote along with it the assistance for systematic housing upkeep by the tenants within the scope of the "Join-in!" competition--the National Front's socialist mass movement in all residential areas.

The courts also must effectively support the demand for optimum qualities in produced or offered commodities.

For jurisdiction in family matters, the point is to apply the results of the December 1979 Supreme Court plenary session to the everyday work courts do in this field.

We have to continue our tried and tested jurisdiction, above all, for solving marital conflicts. The courts have a special responsibility in protecting the rights and interests of children affected by a divorce.⁴

The kreis court directors conferences have made clear once again that strengthening the socialist legal order in our country--as resolved by the ninth party congress--is the supreme precept for everything GDR judges do. Along with the demands for the 1980's, higher criteria will also be set for the personal responsibility each judge has for the development of society, and hence also for the decisions that serve the individual. At the same time the realization is growing that constructive cooperation with the other organs of security and justice--while fully preserving their own particular responsibility--, the participation in territorial tasks, the enforcing of socialist democracy in the administration of justice, for instance by encouraging the social courts and lay-judges, and the cooperation with the public are important prerequisites for allowing the courts on all levels to make a fine contribution to the struggle for order, discipline and security in our country.

FOOTNOTES

1. E. Honecker, "Bericht des Politburos an die 11. Tagung des Zentralkomitees der SED" (Politburo Report to the 11th Central Committee Plenum), Berlin, 1979, p 63.
2. For crime development in some imperialist states also see p 81 of this issue.
3. E. Honecker, op. cit., p 65.
4. Cf. W. Strasberg, "The Courts' Tasks in Divorce Proceedings," p 52 of this issue.

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CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BIRTHRATE TREND ATTRIBUTED TO SED POLICY

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 20, 6 Feb 80 p 3

[Report from Berlin: "New 'Birthrate Strategy' in the GDR." A translation of the East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG article discussed below follows this translation]

[Text] As statistics are pointing out, young people in the GDR are using a new "birthrate strategy" since the introduction in March 1977 of the "Year of the Baby" and other social benefits for mothers. The time for fulfilling the wish to have children is now picked between the 20th and 25th year of the mother; the number of children desired is mostly two; births take place in most cases in relatively short sequences. As GDR population experts have determined, the slight increase in the birthrate since the "baby boom" of 1977 is caused not by increased fertility of the women, but by the increase in the number of women of child-bearing age, especially between 20 and 25 years. The total number of births in the GDR is today still 10 percent below the simple reproduction requirements of the population so that in the long-range view the number of deaths will again surpass the number of newborn, unless there is an additional increase in fertility. (BERLINER ZEITUNG)

Recent Birthrate Trends

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 2-3 Feb 80 p 11

[Article, which constitutes a reply to a question from a BERLINER ZEITUNG reader Herbert Brueggemann, by Dr Dieter Stempel: "Do We Already Have Enough Babies in the GDR?--On Birth-rate Trends of Recent Years in Our Country." For related information from West German sources, see the following JPRS issues of this series: 74066, 23 Aug 79, No 1710, p 37; and JPRS 74037, 17 Aug 79, No 1708, p 10]

[Text] We are always happy to see reports that state that in the GDR more babies were born in the past years. Do we now have enough babies, and what is the demographic

explanation for this development?

Herbert Brueggemann
1157 Berlin

In 1979 235,000 children were born in the GDR. This means that for the first time since 1970 the number of births is again surpassing the yearly average of deaths.

There is no doubt that the progress of the birthrate over the past few years was caused by the sociopolitical measures that resulted from the Ninth SED Congress. Let us consider first the monthly birthrate from 1976 to 1978. In March 1977, births increased by 10 percent in comparison to previous years. Afterwards, they remained at about the same level. Hardly ever do we see more convincing statistical proof that young people have accepted measures of this kind immediately and that the goals of sociopolitical measures have been met.

No Tendencies Toward Population Decrease

It is also clear that after the measures showed their effects in March 1977 there have been no significant statistical changes. (The increase between 1977 and 1978 was caused by the difference in the first months of 1977 during which the measures could not yet have been effective.)

It is highly probable, however, that in the coming years the GDR will not have more deaths than births. This means that there are enough babies to compensate statistically for the number of deaths. No longer is there a tendency toward a population decrease, which was evident before 1976.

Because of the strong differences among the individual parent age groups, however, the number of births is still 10 percent below the simple reproduction needs of the population. This means that in the long-range view--but probably not before 1985--the number of deaths is again going to be a little higher if there is no additional increase in fertility.

Lowest Number of Births in June and November

The just mentioned statistical curves according to months are also interesting in another respect. They have long-range, constant minima and maxima. In the months of June and November, for instance, the smallest number of children are born, in the months of March and September, the greatest number of children who in professional circles are then called vacation or Christmas children. These extremes can also be shifted to adjacent months.

It is a well-known phenomenon that these extremes occur now as before, even in the GDR, where now almost every child born is a wanted child, which means that the time of birth is planned almost precisely by the parents.

If we want to analyze development of births over a longer period of time, we must consider on the one hand the factor of fertility, that is the number of births per 1,000 women of child-bearing age, and on the other hand the number of women of child-bearing age. Around 1960, for instance, there were many women between 20 and 25 years, the known age of greatest fertility, and the GDR experienced a birth peak at that time; around 1970, there were relatively few women of this age group, a condition caused by the lack of births at the end of World War II. Around 1980, there will again be more women of this age because of the birth peak around 1960, and so on. This cycle explains the increase in births by 3,000 between 1978 and 1979.

The First Child—Not Too Early

Fertility, the second factor determining the number of births, showed a very differentiated development in the GDR. Between 1950 and 1970, for instance, there was a strong increase in the fertility of the younger age groups, whereas there was a continuous decrease in fertility in the age groups above 35. The sociopolitical measures of the Ninth SED Congress caused an increase in fertility in all age groups, especially high in the age groups between 20 and 25 years. It is also becoming clear that fertility among the 18-year olds remained almost constant and that therefore the number of young mothers did not increase.

This is a very welcome tendency. It means that young people deliberately take advantage of the opportunity to delay the birth of the first child. In other words: they select their partners in a more responsible manner, and in most cases wait until their education is completed before the first child is born.

If we consider the development of the sequence of live births, that is the births after the first, second, third etc, child, we notice that there is for the first child, born between 1960 and 1976, only an insignificant change in regard to the number of subsequently born children. After the implementation of the measures of the ninth party congress, the number of first-born rose in 1978 even beyond the number of first-born in 1960 when the GDR, as already explained, had a maximum of births. There are extreme variations in the numbers of second-born children. They decreased strongly between 1965 and 1975, and afterwards rose until 1978 to the level of 1960. There was a continuous decline in the number of third children until 1976. Afterwards, there was an insignificant increase.

Strategy of Future Parents

These tendencies demonstrate that young people in the GDR are following a new birthrate strategy, as we demographs call it. The time for the fulfillment of the wish to have children is placed between the 20th and 25th year of the mother, and at the same time the number of wanted children is usually two. This tendency is supported by the measures to promote

young marriages. The "Year of the Baby" plays a special role in this respect. During this time, the young mothers (without being hindered by unwanted pregnancies) pay full attention to the education of the children who are only a few years apart, and afterwards, when the children are older, they can perform other social functions.

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DEFICIENCIES CITED IN WORKERS MILITIA COMBAT TRAINING

East Berlin DER KAMPFER in German Vol 24 No 2, Feb 80 p 5

[Article by Major Behr, People's Police: "Evaluate Thoroughly--Observe Good Experiences"]

[Text] A special highpoint for artillery units in the struggle to accomplish their mission was the [recent] tactical exercises with combat firing. The results achieved have provided proof that the units are able to accomplish tactical operations and fire missions in direct and indirect lays under various conditions. This indicates, among other things, a high degree of combat readiness on the part of all commanders, NCO's and soldiers, as well as their efforts for the highest possible performances. Improved command activity was evident in the fire control of field pieces and mortars, as well as on the part of the platoon leaders, in the exact observation and fire correction. The exact sighting of the systems and adherence to safety regulations were also responsible for the excellent results.

The experiences of the best units, for example, the 'Hans Arno Eckelmann,' the 'Ernst Brandt,' the 'Franz Stenzer' and 'Martin Hoop' Workers Militia Battalions (motorized), point to the following as important reasons for success:

- A realistic and practical political-ideological program;
- The timely, goal-oriented and relevantly conducted extracurricular advanced training of the commanders;
- The socialist competition conducted during combat training and tactical exercises.

The command activity of the commanders has been further stabilized and improved. That has been proven especially in the units concentrating on the following in extracurricular advanced training:

- The tasks of the commanders after receiving the mission (specifically deployment principles of artillery units);

--The coordination between commander and staff;

--The command of artillery unit operations in combat by the commander of the Workers Militia Company (motorized), and

--The organization of coordination between the rifle units and artillery units.

The extensive preparation of tactical exercises with combat fire missions was decisive for their orderly conduct which was distinguished by action, tight operations, dynamics in a variety of the applied forms and methods in the process. It should be pointed out that the commanders brought about the union of political and military leadership on a high level. This was demonstrated particularly in the following:

--The accomplishment of all assigned combat missions and a pronounced exemplary effect produced by the communists;

--The consolidated knowledge, capabilities and skills of the commanders and members of the staffs in organizing the combat operations;

--The capabilities and skills of the platoon and section commanders in skillfully leading their platoons, crews and squads, in correctly determining the deployment of arms and equipment and in accomplishing the combat mission with great initiative;

--The good military discipline and order.

Although on the whole the objectives were met by all units, certain problems and deficiencies did show up especially in the conduct of the tactical operations. They were evident in the following:

--The commanders did not always fully utilize all of their military knowledge, capabilities and skills;

--A few unclear ideas were still evident on the deployment of artillery units in the order of battle of the rifle units;

--There was not, in all instances, a clear division of labor between commander and deputy commander, on the one hand, and between commander and staff, on the other, which had a negative effect especially on the formulation of decisions and on the issuance of orders;

--No use or too little use was made of combat documents and/or aids;

--Too much time was still being spent on formulating decisions and documentation and too little time on guidance, control and support;

--The securing of a continuous, stable communications network was not always given the necessary attention.

The units must devote still more attention to adhering to the time limits for determining the initial data as well as the working time of the unit firing at the observation point of the mortar platoon and to the coordination of the observations units. In this effort, emphasis is to be directed toward the exactness of the values to be determined, the support of the comrades in the operations to be carried out as well as toward the steady communication link between observation post and fire command post.

Naturally each commander on his own must evaluate how the tasks were accomplished, which problems or weaknesses had emerged in the course of the combat operations and combat firing. It is essential to undertake a realistic and critical observation of all phases and, along with the evaluation of the results attained, to derive conclusions for the future accomplishment of combat training and tactical exercises.

CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DEVELOPMENTS IN ELECTRONICS FOR RADAR SYSTEMS REPORTED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 1, Jan/Feb 80 signed to press
14 Nov 79 pp 36-37, 56

[Article by Lt Col M. Pohl: "Development of Radar Technology: New Components and Their influence on Deployment and Maintenance." Translations of the two 1979 MILITAERTECHNIK articles by the same author, cited in footnote 1 below, are available in the following JPRS issues of this series as indicated: from MILITAERTECHNIK No 5, published under the heading, "Developments in Air Defense Radar Technology Reported," in 74656, 27 Nov 79, No 1741, pp 8-15; and from No 6, under the heading, "Neutralization of Anti-Radar Measures Detailed," in 74991, 23 Jan 80, No 1757, pp 28-35]

[Text] The development of radar stations presented in the two preceding articles* was in all cases paced by the development of electronic components. These provide the engineering and technological foundation of radar stations. They determine the potential for further development and also the limits of development in a given technical direction. This will be elucidated in the present article using several examples.

1. On the Influence of New Electrical and Nonelectrical Components and Improved Materials

In addition to the purely electronic components, all other components used in radar stations have, of course, been further developed also. This applies to electrical components like transformers, motors, servos of various types, relays, circuit breakers, switches, safety devices, signal station equipment, etc., plus mechanical subsystems like power transmission systems, precision mechanical elements, plug-in connectors, wire connectors and chassis parts. Also included in this development is the application of new materials.

MILITAERTECHNIK, No 5/79 p 269 ff and No 6/79 p 312 ff

This part of the development will be treated only in a cursory manner here. Two examples may suffice to indicate the methodology and basic direction to the extent that they are important for electronic considerations and coincide with the general development objectives which are presented later. For example, mechanical transmission technology has advanced in two main directions: in accuracy of transmission and in decreased weight. Thus, equipment drives for precision angular transmission achieve accuracies to within a half graduation of the artillery angular scale, or about 1.8 angular minutes. The weight of mechanical transmissions, for example antenna drives, has decreased by more than half during the past 20 to 25 years without decreasing performance. This was achieved as a result of more favorable design principles and application of improved materials, mainly improved quality steels.

An important step in the electrical field was the conversion from 50 hz to 400 hz power supply which was accomplished in Soviet technology. In addition to other advantages, this produced a decrease in weight for motors, transformers, condensers in rectifier circuits, servos and other induction and magnetomechanical subsystems and components which constitute a large fraction of the total weight of a radar station. The same result is achieved for generators and power supply systems. For network operation, however, appropriate converters are required. For the remainder of the article, attention will be devoted to electronic subsystems.

2. Basic Directions of Development Trends in Radar Technology

The basic development trends in radar technology can, in general, be summarized as the following six basic directions which are indirectly or directly connected with components technology:

- Expansion of possibilities and fields of application,
- Increase in range,
- Increase in accuracy,
- Decrease in equipment weight and size,
- Reduction of energy consumed and
- Simplification of operation, service and maintenance.

These basic directions form a complex in which usually several directions are advanced simultaneously. Also, various directions are often dependent and interact with each other. For example, especially after 1940, shorter wave regimes become possible with the advent of the magnetron in combination with further developments in wave-guide technology. This development was decisive for the introduction of airborne radar equipment; this permitted much smaller antennae and laid the foundation for increased accuracy and reduced weight of the antennae and their drive elements.

In the subsequent discussions no claim can be made for completeness because of the multiplicity of varying influences of new components on radar; just a few characteristic trends of selected examples will be shown. The tremendous scope of influences will become clear when the content of the first basic direction, the expansion of possibilities and areas of application, is more closely examined. Originally, radar was created to track and fix air and sea targets. Today, radar is applied in many areas of science, economics and military technology in several specialized forms. Representative of these uses are: navigation, instrument landing technology, meteorological radar stations, artillery-ranging radar stations, radar proximity fuses, radar terminally-guided weapons, radar fire control, weapon control technology and aerial reconnaissance.

When considering new components, one frequently gets the impression that their introduction in military technology, especially radar, takes place very slowly. The latest development has brought forth microelectronics which is already on the way to replacing the modules and integrated circuits of the second generation. It can, however, be asserted that even modern radar stations still, by and large, operate with tube technology. To understand this fact, one must consider the economic aspect. Even though the technical capability for a new generation of radar is at hand, equipping an army with this technology is nonetheless an economic problem of great import which must take its proper place in the overall development of our socialistic social order. Thus, older technology will always exist alongside the new, often on the same basic vehicle, and with the combination the assigned task must be fulfilled.

Thus it is emphasized: The following examples draw on actual technology found in practice without considering whether or not the application has already been largely accomplished.

3. Status and Trends of Vacuum Tube Technology in Radar

The magnetron mentioned above, which opened the dm and cm wave-length domains, led necessarily to the development of several other elements of high-frequency technology. Named as typical examples are the klystron and the traveling-wave tube. Both tubes are necessary to fulfill the requirements generated by receivers in this frequency range. Radar receivers, as a rule, receive extremely weak signals. They must therefore have a very high input sensitivity. These conditions lead to the following steps: The filtered signal is amplified at the highest possible frequency by means of a traveling-wave tube and only then converted to an intermediate frequency, usually with a klystron serving as an oscillator.

UHF tubes have in recent years developed in the direction of simpler operation. Above all, the extensive tuning and matching work has more and more fallen to the lot of traveling wave tubes with the result that almost maintenance-free operation is assured for long periods of time.

A significant step in the field of vacuum-tube technology was the development of signal storage tubes. In such tubes, the electrostatic or other electrically transformable properties of a signal plate positioned in the electron path are used. Signals carried by an electron beam can be stored by a process wherein a signal writes a potential difference on the signal plate at the impact point of the electron beam. The stored signal is retained for a definite time, which, today, amounts to several hours. The scan of the event creates a potential relief on the signal plate which can be read at a later time.

The evolution of this equipment was first presented as the basis for the SBZ system which was described in No 6/79, page 213. Presently, especially as a consequence of the longer storage time, signal storage tubes are penetrating visual-display technology. They open up the possibility of displaying target trajectories in such a way that the trajectory is drawn for the individual time points on the storage plate (signal plate) and updated for each new coordinate determined. Thereby, such parameters as target course, specific maneuver, possible target separations, etc., can be optically displayed in a manner similar to conventional air position mapping (however without the time lags of the latter).

Regarding electron-tube equipment, it can be determined in general that, in spite of the distinct, gradual displacement by semiconductor components, a large number of special tubes will remain as basic components of radar stations even into the distant future. This pertains primarily to electron beam tubes, signal plate devices, various zero- and multipolar gas discharge tubes and digital display tubes. In this regard, the high-power UHF components will play a special role.

Thus, in recent years, the amplitron has joined the magnetron in practice. It is not inferior to the magnetron in its performance parameters, but has, because of its different functional principle, several new properties which are of great importance. In its operation it is a UHF power amplifier which is controlled by a UHF oscillator. Several amplitrons can be connected in series to produce a cascade power amplifier. Since output power equals input power for an uncoupled amplitron, when it is appropriately cascaded a stepwise controllable power radiation can be achieved by disconnecting the output stages, starting with the outermost amplitron. Further, the amplitron makes possible a shorter frequency-shift time compared to the magnetron, a feature which is important for protection against jamming. The amplitron can be retuned without inertial effects by changing the control frequency whereas the magnetron is mechanically retuned. A change in control frequency is, however, completely controlled electronically.

4. Semiconductor Components in Radar

Presently, more and more semiconductor components are being used in radar technology. For the following discussions, semiconductor components will include semiconductor diodes, transistors, transistorized modules and

integrated circuits. The application of such elements has a series of far-reaching consequences for radar stations, especially much smaller dimensions, as shown in Figures 1 through 4, and decreased weight. Both are extremely important for many radar application considerations in various fields. Here, only the application in aircraft and missiles is mentioned, for which tight limits are always established for size and weight. Smaller dimensions and weight of components also offer the potential for expanding radar station capability. In the space saved, additional equipment can be carried for improved jamming protection, signal processing, information evaluation, etc.

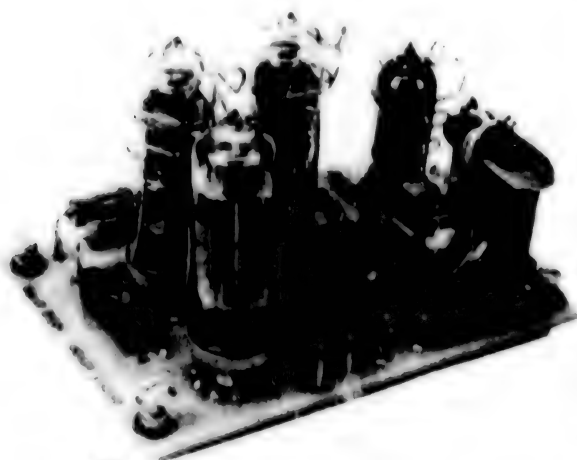


Bild 1
Baugruppe mit Röhren

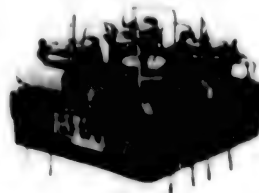


Bild 3 Transistorisierte
Baugruppe

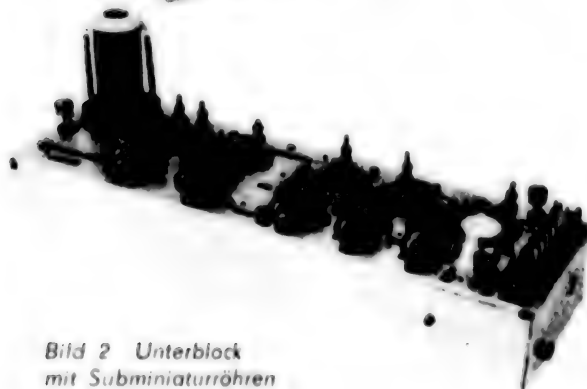


Bild 2 Unterblock
mit Subminiaturröhren

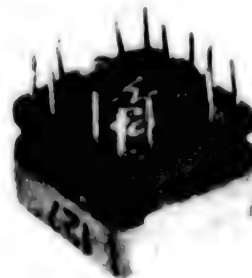


Bild 4 Modul

Key:

- Figure 1: Subsystem with Tubes
- Figure 2: Subsystem with Subminiature Tubes
- Figure 3: Transistorized Subsystem
- Figure 4: Module

An additional important parameter which is reduced by using semiconductor components is the energy requirement of radar stations. In any tube circuit (even subminiature tubes), a third of the total energy, on the average, must be provided for heating. This energy consumption is totally absent in semiconductor circuits. A large number of semiconductor signal processing and control circuits operate with 10 to 15 percent of the power which must be provided for the anodes of equivalent tube circuits. With micromodules and integrated circuits, this percentage is even significantly lower. The importance of the energy consideration can be appreciated when it is recognized that the number of tubes in a radar station can amount to 1000 or more.

For operating 1,000 tubes, the average energy consumption is 10 to 15 kW. An analogous station using transistors and integrated circuits would consume 0.5 to 1 kW.

The energy saving makes it possible to further reduce the size and weight of the equipment since the power supply installations become smaller, and, in addition, several forced-air ventilating units, which are required for tube circuits, disappear or can be greatly simplified. Semiconductor components work thermally much more favorably than tubes. Problems of heat dissipation from semiconductor components arise only in power components. Small transistors, small diodes, integrated circuits and similar subsystems control their temperature exclusively by natural heat exchange with ambient air and through heat conduction via connecting wires and soldering tabs.

Semiconductor components have yet another advantage compared to vacuum-tube equipment: They age much more slowly. For example, replacement of transistors in circuits is normally not required at all because in normal use or storage they age along with the overall circuit, in which process their parameters are fully retained. Therefore, they are always soldered in place.

The last two facts mentioned are used to further increase reliability. Transistorized subsystems are often grouped into modular units by encapsulation with a potting compound. Very high mechanical and vibration strength is achieved in the process. Mechanical wear is practically precluded in such modules. Such properties are of great value, particularly for military technology, since such modules are generally carried in vehicles--frequently, tracked vehicles--in aircraft and missiles and are thus exposed to the highest mechanical stresses. Also, hardly any type of service or adjustment is required for such transistorized modules. However, such modules cannot be repaired when failed and must therefore be removed and replaced. But this, again, simplifies field-level maintenance.

Frequently, in radar stations equipped with encapsulated modules, failures are localized to the replaceable unit. Maintenance then consists of reading the location of a failed module and removing and replacing the module. This method is, however, expensive and rather uneconomical for large stations since the fault designating system would be very complicated. In this case

a somewhat different approach is taken. The radar station is provided with equipment which indicates the failure of each installed block. Correspondingly, in the EWZ sets of such installations, each block is present. In this case, field maintenance consists of removing and replacing failed blocks and forwarding them to maintenance centers which have the instrumentation required for locating the failures. There, removal of components or encapsulated modules is undertaken.

After repair, the affected block is reinstalled in the EWZ set. This sketch of radar station maintenance is, to some degree, simplified, but it shows the trend of development. In the final analysis, this represents effective systematizing of maintenance for a technology which is continuously increasing in complexity.

5. Conclusions

The fielding of radar technology employing new components proceeds stepwise. Existing radar stations have been in recent years, equipped with a series of newly developed add-on devices which previously were not present in radar stations. These consist primarily of digital computer installations, video screens and data transmission systems. These added equipments were, from the beginning, built with new components and provided on both the input and output sides with the required parts for interfacing with existing radar station equipment. Type stations were developed which, in turn, could be used with a future generation of radar technology.

In this process, it is altogether to be expected that this new generation will have outgrown the components described here as new. The volatile development in microelectronics opens anew a series of possibilities for fundamentally redesigning electronic equipment. It will find broad application in radar technology when the required engineering and technological level has evolved. Its introduction will then take place within the constraints of military necessity and economic feasibility.

9160
CSO: 2300

OFFICIAL URGES MORE RATIONAL PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Feb 80 p 3

[Article by Sandor Racz, chief of main department of the MSZMP's Central Committee: "Let Us Have a Sensible and Economical Administration"]

[Excerpts] The state realizes the major portion of its economic, developmental, cultural and social tasks with the cooperation of the administration. We can say without exaggeration, therefore, that a sensible and economical administration is one of the fundamental requirements of a continued harmonious building of socialism.

We would be making a mistake, however, in meeting the requirements mentioned without considering the characteristics of the administration. For we must not forget that administration is part of the political system and that it is supposed to serve general social interests, and thus its operation has a political significance. At the same time, we cannot accept the views which, referring precisely to its characteristics--and primarily to the political nature of these characteristics--hold the rationalization of the administration as a secondary matter, and concepts--such as economy and thrift--as unrelated....

Let Us Have a Broad Change of View

Just like everything else, our administration also cannot be evaluated only on the basis of past or present results. We must see the future as well, and the standards must be adjusted accordingly. In looking at the administration from this angle, we must say that its efficiency and organizational framework must be significantly improved. Only this way will it be able to cope efficiently--and without increasing costs--with the ever-increasing and ever-more complex tasks. The need for modernization and rationalization goes beyond the tasks that can be solved by measures and by changes in the statutory provisions, it goes beyond the narrow sense of thrift. What is needed is a broad change of view, a more exigent behavior form at all levels of leadership, and a stricter consistency. Our present tasks--first of all, the development of leading the national economy--make it especially necessary to further modernize the administration.

The matching of the methods, means and organization of the leadership and the continued moderate decentralization can eliminate more superfluous administration than any management rationalization. By keeping the management practice unchanged, the official machinery and the files would necessarily increase. Several hundred plants and institutions are established in the country every year, the citizens are becoming more affluent, and this requires more need for management and administration. A sensible and economical organizing of this need may save the national economy from significant increases of costs.

With a Smaller and Valued Machinery

In examining the central and regional organization of our administration, it may be established that it is extremely dissected. For this reason, there is much parallelism, a difficulty in coordinating, and a disappearance of responsibility. We are facing, therefore, a double task. On the one hand, we must liquidate the view that every new administrative task requires a new administrative organ. On the other hand, it would be beneficial, after careful deliberation, to "push" the organs dealing with identical or similar tasks "closer together." We would, no doubt, save manpower and costs.

The workers' competence and sense of vocation--in other words, everything what we call the human factor--have an outstanding role in administration as well. The majority of our public officials do meet the requirements. But there is a significant difference between the administration's organizational and actual staff. There are many people who do actual administrative work in the so-called background institutions (organizing institutions, educational centers, etc.) that were established in recent years. Thus it is difficult to establish how many people, and in which organs, are working in actual administration. All of this also makes social control difficult. Thus the existence of the background institutions is also a political and economic question. The administration's efficiency can be further improved, and machineries, better suited for the tasks, can be developed by a more rational organization, more precise organizational and operative regulations and job descriptions, and by a more unequivocal separation of spheres of authority and responsibility.

As a result of the party's and the state's measures that were published recently, the outlines of a more rational staff management are emerging in the various areas of administration management as well. Our objective must continue to be to create a smaller administrative machinery that is valued both financially and morally and that is even more prepared both politically and professionally.

The Tasks of the Party Organizations

According to experience, the further development of our administration cannot be narrowed exclusively to the rationalization of procedures and policies, although this will be needed in the future as well. Administrative

technology can be a great help here. Expenditures will yield several times higher returns in faster and more careful decisions and in the citizens' time spent working instead of taking care of administrative business. It is wrong to think that rationalization is the exclusive task of the central organs and that individual offices or local and regional organs have no opportunity for initiative. It is an undisputed fact that--because of legal administrative regulations--the national directive organs will have to take the lion's share from these tasks. All the same, there is room for modernization and rationalization even "at home." The critical examination of administrative procedures, the elimination of idling, and the strengthening of the cooperation between the various organs can be achieved only through the helpful cooperation of the executives and workers of the given organ or institution. There are already beautiful examples of this everywhere in the country.

The party organs also have huge tasks in the development of a sensible and economic administration. On the one hand, as organs of ideological and political leadership, they must guarantee that the administration will be well coordinated with society's other organizations. On the other hand, they must continuously evaluate the activity of the administrative organizations, so that it always serves the political goals and statutory provisions, without being too bureaucratic. They must take the initiative in working out ideas to improve the administration's efficiency, and must help to realize and control the realization of these. The party organs in the administration and the Communist administrative workers have a special responsibility in this. Party members should set a personal example in propagating the new methods and in creating an atmosphere where there is no red tape, no playing bottlere and shuttlecock with people, no irresponsibility, no bureaucratism.

By ever-more implementing these characteristics, administration must manifest its popular and socialistic character. Of course, the state council organs are functioning according to laws serving the people's interests and according to other statutory provisions. This is the essence and framework of their activity. But as far as their methods are concerned, they must be based in the period of building advanced socialism on a close rapport with the voters and the population--this is an indispensable resource, not only in the work of the elected organs but generally also in that of the administration. This is the way in which the administration will strengthen its socialist character and this is the way in which it will more efficiently serve our working people.

9414

CSO: 2500

CATHOLIC PAPER REBUTS JOURNALIST'S VIEW OF CHURCH HISTORY

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 2 Mar 80 p 2

[Text] PUSZTA Nostalgia --On page 14 of LIFE AND LITERATURE No. 16, a writing of Miklos Hubay appeared under the title "Diary Without Me" in which, under the sub-heading Symphonia Hungarorum, the following cerebration can be read with reference to the well-known episode of the St Gerald legend:

"Sometimes I imagine that those missionaries who spread Christianity in Hungary by fire and sword and by planting the seeds of the gospel were all secretly in love with the manifestations of paganism that could be loved without sinning...Why would they have come here otherwise?"

It is useless to say that the work and role of Saint Gerald in founding Hungary's Christianity and statehood has been clarified a long time ago--and more recently also by the Marxist historical science. It is unthinkable that Miklos Hubay did not know about this.

It is useless to argue with an author's imagination which is seldom limited by historical facts. Thus it would also be useless to prove that Saint Gerald set out to go, originally, not to our country but to the Holy Land and thus he did not come to us because of some kind of "puszta nostalgia." Hubay's notion, that Gerald's mission was actually finished when he heard a servant's work-song that was strange to Venetian ears and "after which the next legendary moment could come, that of martyrdom, on Kelen's hill," is an exceptionally elementary concept. (What he says in addition in characterizing Saint Gerald, is a question of good taste even within literary imagination.)

His line of thought, however, is not finished here. The reader has the feeling that all of this is only a cover for what follows about the missionaries:

"The missionary is the most infamous pleasure-seeker," he writes. "He is irresistibly attracted to a culture which he sees and destroys. He wants to be the first and last witness of the Indians' paradisiacal nakedness.

He hurries to follow the exploring ship, to go to the happy naked, loaded with holy rosaries, muslin skirts and satin pants."

Well, we cannot say anymore that these lines are born of freed literary imagination. We could read similar lines about the missionaries--about 20 years ago--in those primitive and wanton anti-church and anti-religious brochures which can have a place today only in a kind of "Istvan-Rath-Veghian freak collection." But this is precisely what makes both the faithful and unfaithful think, who give a great deal of attention to the present Hungarian Marxist scientific analyses of religious history: how is it possible that a view is emerging in our literary life precisely now, which is determined to kick the Church and, at the same time, also the present Hungarian science.

The Hungarian Catholic Church celebrates this year the 1000th anniversary of Saint Gerald's birth. To our knowledge, the anniversary is not being ignored by Hungarian science either. We do not dare suppose that LIFE AND LITERATURE (a literary and political weekly magazine) would wish to begin the literary commemorations of Saint Gerald with Miklos Hubay's diary.

9414

CSO: 2500



WARSAW MAN IN STREET FEARS EFFECT OF AFGHANISTAN ON OWN LIFE

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 7 Feb 80 p 8

[Article by Stein Savik]

[Text] It does not take many conversations with the man in the street to understand that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is just as unpopular in Warsaw as it is in Oslo. There is sharp denunciation and little understanding of the motives behind the action, which the Poles can read in their papers.

But the criticism is accompanied by another, almost inevitable, reaction: fear of a new cold war with limitations on the Poles' freedom to travel to the West, as well as internal restrictions.

"Even if we receive only a modest allotment of currency every third year to travel on vacation to the West, it is good to know that we have that opportunity," says a teacher in Warsaw.

There are also many other things the Poles are worried about. In spite of clear and undisguised restrictions, life in Poland is freer than in other East European countries, with the probable exception of Hungary. Without wanting to overreact too soon, many Poles point out that long periods of international tension can create a pretext for tightening the reins in their country. One argument against such a step backward is the strong economic dissatisfaction, which is no secret, and which is prompting the authorities to continue to act with caution. But it will be a first, ominous sign if the exile of Andrey Sakharov is followed by severe measures against opposition figures in Poland.

Even if the arguments sound different in official circles, fear of a recurrence of the cold war is the main idea in most conversations.

"Half of Poland's foreign trade is now with the West," says a prominent representative. A number of cooperative projects have come into being during the past 10 years. It cannot be in anyone's interest for these important bonds to be broken now.

It is vital for Poland's crisis-ridden economy that western credits and loans not be stopped. The country's foreign debt has reached 17 billion dollars, according to figures that have been confirmed by an expert in Warsaw. This year, because of a poor grain harvest, Poland will have to import between 8 and 10 million tons of grain and that can only come from the West. It will cost 1.5 billion dollars in hard currency and all in all it is believed that Poland will have to borrow 5 billion dollars on the international money market.

In other words, there are a number of reasons why Warsaw, which has entered into Polish-Norwegian contracts, especially, after the Afghanistan invasion, is interested in salvaging the remains of detente. A communique released after the Polish foreign minister's visit to Moscow in January intimated that the Soviet government has given Poland some elbow room in this area, while the Kremlin's own contacts with the West are freezing up.

Of course, Warsaw is being unrealistic when it tries to keep discussions of Afghanistan outside the exchange of ideas over the possibility of keeping negotiations between East and West alive. The official explanation of the motives behind the Soviet action is basically the same as that of Moscow: the Soviet Union decided to secure its position in Afghanistan after it became clear that the West had taken a harder stance--retification of the SALT treaty was practically a lost cause, the West had not reacted to Brezhnev's decision to withdraw 20,000 men from East Germany, and NATO had approved modernization of its nuclear missiles in Central Europe.

It is more realistic when they openly admit that it is impossible to have isolated detente in Europe. The idea that emerges here is that the European nations should rather attempt to moderate the two superpowers. However, what Poland advocates most strongly is for established negotiations to run their course as much as possible. The Polish side is against putting off the security conference's follow-up meeting in Madrid because the new, bitter climate gives reason to expect poor results. "It is better to hold a meeting with little progress than not to come together at all," it is said. The same is true of MBFR, the negotiations on the balanced reduction of troops in Europe, where the latest Western proposal apparently has little chance of breaking the ice.

At the party congress, which opens Wednesday of next week in Warsaw, the foreign policy statements from the visiting Soviet delegation will be anticipated with a certain amount of interest. This will be the first time after the invasion of Afghanistan that leading party representatives from Eastern Europe will be gathered in large numbers. But it is not the top leaders who are coming to Warsaw and for this reason it seems unlikely that the speeches will offer any new foreign policy initiatives. The Soviet delegation will be led, not by Brezhnev, but by party ideologist Mikhail Suslov. The explanation for this is that the Eastern communist parties have agreed that participation in party congresses will be held at a level lower than previously. That this "demotion" occurs just now is described as a coincidence.

FRENCH JOURNALIST COMMENTS ON POLISH AFFAIRS

Recent Eighth PZPR Congress

Paris LE FIGARO in French 16-17 Feb 80 p 2

[Article by Bernard Margueritte]

[Text] Warsaw--I really have to say that the Eighth Congress of the Polish [Commu-Workers] Party, which ended last Friday, must have surpassed the observers' expectations in many areas. In foreign policy, it strengthened the Polish determination to keep at a distance from Moscow and to do everything possible to rekindle interest in detente, particularly in view of the proposal to hold a meeting in Warsaw on disarmament in Europe.

As for domestic policy, the Congress made clear the Polish Party's determination--and Mr Gierek's personally--to initiate an ambitious reform program and, to lend it greater credibility, to hasten the political ouster of the present prime minister, Piotr Jaroszewicz; the latter is not only no longer a member of the Political Bureau, but he has even lost his seat on the party's board of directors, which entails his withdrawal as chairman of the Council of Ministers.

In all probability, he is to be replaced there by Gierek's devoted assistant, Edward Babiuch, who is no longer the Central Committee's secretary. Mr. Gierek and the Congress, it must be added, have graciously accepted the withdrawal of Mr Jaroszewicz, who, of course, has "submitted his resignation." On the other hand, we notice that Messrs Lukaszewicz and Wrzaszczyk have been promoted (foreseen) to the Political Bureau, as a replacement for Messrs Kepa and Tejchma, who had lost the posts as vice prime minister in February 1979.

The withdrawal of Mr Olszowski, one of the party's great hopes, is, at first sight, all the more surprising as his critical theories favorable to reform, were widely propounded throughout the Congress. Mr Olszowski, no doubt, must have made the mistake of being right too soon. On the other hand, Gierek evidently wanted to keep things on an even keel by, on the one hand, getting rid of the prime minister and on the other, of Stefan Olszowski, whom the first Warsaw secretary, Karkoszka, has replaced.

Lastly, note should be made of the withdrawal of the former Stalinist Kruczek from the union's board of directors, which gives us reason to hope that these aforementioned will be able to find a new life in the light of what is going on in Hungary.

These changes bring two things out very clearly. First of all, Mr Gierek's power and authority have notably increased on all levels; then, the Polish leader is evidently firmly convinced that the reform policy is too serious a matter to be entrusted to reformists and that, on the contrary, by carrying this out with pragmatists known for their ideological stability, they will run no risk of seeing the party lose control of the situation and will at the same time steer clear of antagonizing the Soviets.

Mr Jaroszewicz's downfall has, for several years, been believed to be inevitable. As long ago as last 8 October, I referred to it in an article called "Gierek in Search of a Prime Minister." Mr Jaroszewicz had become very unpopular, particularly after the abortive attempt (attributed to him) to raise prices in 1976. This unfavorable opinion caused him to be held responsible for the many difficulties the country encountered and he became a grave political handicap for Mr Gierek.

Mr Jaroszewicz's ouster was to be effected by grass-roots pressure and especially by the first secretaries of the voivodships (regions), which were very much opposed to the prime minister and showed it during the Congress discussions.

This final outcome was indeed to be no surprise to anyone. Several weeks ago, the editor-in-chief of a Warsaw paper, and a Central Committee member, said to me: "The Congress will proceed peacefully..." and then added with an indulgent smile: "... unless the grass roots decide otherwise."

One would have to be very naive indeed to believe that "grass-roots pressure" could democratically voice its opinion during a congress.

To be sure, some serious opposition intensified by the crisis broke out among several party groups, but there is no doubt whatsoever that Mr Jaroszewicz's opponents would not have launched their offensive if they did not have the assurance that Mr Gierek had no intention of using his authority to defend his prime minister.

Mr Jaroszewicz's withdrawal will be all the more welcome now that it has become a threefold symbol: the symbol of unconditional pro-Sovietism, of the ineffectiveness of the implementation of the policy drafted by Mr Gierek and the Political Bureau, and the basic opposition toward all and every reform. Now the Congress has decided in favor of a very extensive reform program. Mr Gierek has even set a date: from now until 1983 the entire economy is to function according to the new system.

During the discussion, a regional first secretary expressed satisfaction with the green light which Gierek had given to the "decentralization process for

decisions and jurisdictions, a process which very definitely will release new forces to help us out of our difficulties"; while another of his colleagues pointed out: "We expect great results from the reorganization made known in the papers on the economic and financial system."

Now there is no doubt whatsoever that this reform and renewal program would have lost all credibility on the part of the public if Mr Jaroszewicz were to remain at his post. His withdrawal, on the contrary, has produced a psychological impact favorable to change.

Obviously, it will not be easy for Mr Cierek, for both foreign and domestic reasons, to carry out the new reform program. It is no less evident, as I, in fact, predicted last Saturday, that this Eighth Congress had decided to embark "on a new venture" for Poland.

Forthcoming Sejm Elections

Paris LE FIGARO in French 26 Feb 80 p 4

[Article by Bernard Margueritte]

[Text] Warsaw--A speech delivered by Mr Jablonski, chairman of the State Council, and an important commentary on the political situation on the eve of the party's congress, published in the last issue of POLITYKA, has just marked the kick-off for the parliamentary elections which are to be held in a month. It is clearly evident from these two addresses that the Polish leaders have decided to adhere to their policy of "overture in continuity" and are evidently determined not to dampen the hopes of reform which the Congress has kindled.

Mr Jablonski, like Mr Rakowski, editor-in-chief of POLITYKA, as a matter of fact, stresses three elements which, in his opinion, are vital at the present time.

1. A climate of creative apprehension and critical realism: the acting head of state, Mr Jablonski, was pleased that, during the Congress, "the discussion was frank, no one hid any weakness in the present situation, any reason for shortcomings and deficiencies, any objective or subjective difficulties we still have to solve." Rakowski, likewise, remarked that "the Eighth Congress was definitely not a gathering of smug party members. On the contrary, it was in reality a congress motivated by creative apprehension (...). It was a critical, self-censuring Congress offering proposals." For these two leaders, the preservation of this climate of realism and openness to criticism is indispensable. "It is one of the important guarantees," asserts Rakowski, "for the successful and speedy solution of the difficulties which are so cruelly besetting us."

2. Strengthening socialist democracy: Mr Jablonski devoted a good part of his address to the need to strengthen democracy and self-government. "We must be fully aware," he said, "for example, of everything we must still do

in order that the systems of democratic participation be one of the guarantees of a country's development." As for Mr Ralowski, he remarked that the "study-in-depth of socialist democracy," must be closely tied, "not only to the establishing of amicable relations between the organs of central and local authority, the determination of the limits of autonomy among companies, but also the self-governing of the working classes and their organizations."

3. Reforms of structures and systems of economic management: What is characteristic of the present situation, the POLITYKA editor-in-chief writes, is "the endeavor to achieve not so much any improvement in the area of economic management efficiency as to arrive at a decisive turning point." At the Congress, this subject "took precedence over all the others," and, moreover, "was discussed by the speakers in an intricate manner." It is basically a question "of management methods and of national economic planning, for the methods used today--this was very clearly said at the Congress--are for many reasons no longer effective and socially useful."

Moreover, the election of the new prime minister, Edward de Baliuch, in the POLITYKA editor-in-chief's opinion, is another element of hope and optimism. The new head of government's realism, the candor of his inaugural address, and the initial personal decisions he made, Rakowski concludes, "predispose the people in favor of opening a credit of confidence in the state's executive power. And by so doing, "the continual strengthening of the people's confidence in this power, which is so necessary, becomes easy."

8870

CSO: 3100

STUDENTS CENSURE SZSP, DEMAND ITS DISBANDMENT

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 19 Mar 80 pp 1, 4

[Text] (t.)--Students from several university cities in Poland, organized in Student Solidarity Committees [SKS], have for a couple of years been criticizing the monopolistic Party organization at institutions of higher learning which goes under the name of "Socialist Union of Polish Students" [SZSP]. The Krakow SKS is currently demanding formal disbandment of this Party annex at universities and polytechnics.

Wroclaw students sharply criticized the SZSP in, among other places, last year's columns of their journal TEMATY. The same things were written by INDEKS, the organ of the Warsaw SKS. In January 1980 the Krakow Student House (which publishes independent university journals) published a "Report on the Status of the SZSP" which had been written in December 1979. This report ends with a suggestion that this parasitic Party organization of the academic community be disbanded.

It ought to be recollected that the SZSP statute ascribes to it the character of a representative of the interests of the university youth in their relations with the state and university authorities. Paragraph 3 of the statute says that the SZSP represents the totality of the Polish university youth in international student organizations and paragraph 1 of the statute clearly specifies that this Union "acts under the ideological-political leadership of the PZPR." In other words, it imposes upon all the youth, whether or not this is what it wants, ideological and organizational dependence on the Communist Party.

The demands of the Krakow students, under which SKS has already gathered around 900 signatures, received the full support of the outstanding intellectuals of the city of the Wawel. On 4 March 1980 they published an open letter in which they state that, out of concern for "the good of the academic milieu and of the university and for the proper development of the academic youth and of its morals," they are supporting the students' attempts and intentions to create a new organization. An organization which would not impose upon the academic youth a world view not in accordance with their will and which will really represent all students.

Under this open letter are found the signatures of several outstanding personalities from the Polish academic world who are tied with Krakow. Here are the names of some of the signatories: Krzysztof Penderecki, a composer of world fame and rector of the Higher School of Music in Krakow; Professor Henryk Wereszycki, historian; Professor Izydora Dambka; Professor the Reverend Jozef Tischner; Assistant Professor Hanna Malewska, a well-known writer; Professor Stefan Smolinski, a member of the Nobel Prize Commission in the field of chemistry; and Professor Jacek Wozniakowski.

At the recent PXP Congress the Politburo, in its report, emphasized the great achievements of the SZSP in shaping the attitudes of the academic youth. This was yet another propaganda lie of the Politburo. The SZSP has neither support nor influence among the student masses. It does have an apparatus of activists, many of whom have already completed their studies, who treat the organizational functions which they perform as a road to a further career both in the Party and in professional life. In addition, this simulated "activity" gives them the most various privileges in the university and makes it easier for them to get diplomas without special difficulties. The positions in the higher echelons of the organization are paid, which is also a magnet for people of weak character and an inclination for a comfortable life.

The Krakow students state in their work that the SZSP does not defend the interests of the academic youth, does not care about the numerous complaints of the youth, especially about the bad management of university houses, and that it is afflicted with an incurable bureaucracy. It condemns all manifestations of independent student initiatives, does not recognize their real and independent self-government, and reserves all places exclusively for its proteges when allocating benefits (foreign travel, vacation-time training, etc.).

The "Report on the Status of the SZSP" was signed by a group of activists of the Krakow SKS and received the full support of the editorial board of the Warsaw student journal INDEKS, which also considers that it is necessary to dissolve this Party organization of the institutions of higher learning and to create a completely independent organization of all students which, in its character, would be akin to trade unions.

These opinions of the Student Solidarity Committees are even shared by an official publication entitled MAGAZYN STUDENCKI. It states that the SZSP is ridden with bureaucratism, is not interested in the spontaneous life of students, and, what is more important, has indisposed the wise masses of the university youth to toward itself.

CSO: 2600

WRITERS MEETING UPBRAIDS PARTY CULTURE POLICY

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 13 Mar 80 p 4

[Text] (t.)--The combative congress of the Union of Polish Writers in Katowice in April 1978 determined that an accountability meeting attended by a wide group of writers ought to take place half way through the term of office of the Union's new administration. The chairman of the Main Administration, the recently deceased Jaroslaw Iwaszkiewicz, was not very enthusiastic about this. He did not want to irritate the authorities and feared that such a meeting would lead to accusations against him and to further criticism of the state authorities. He had to yield, however, to the categorical demands and on 30 November 1979 such a meeting took place in Radziejowice.

The official press did not want to inform society about its essential course, and it was an issue of the independent BULETYN INFORMACYJNY published in December which carried an extensive report which fully confirmed the opinion that the meeting had been combative. Out of necessity we present only a summary of the report from the Radziejowice deliberations.

Among the 10 speakers there were both party members and non-party people, but all were joined in common criticism of the cultural policy of the state and party authorities and of the ways they behaved toward authors. The administration informed the meeting about the attempts it had made with the authorities to comply with the demands of the Katowice Congress by bringing about the publication of books which have spent several years waiting for permission to be printed. In the case of several authors these interventions were effective and their books are to appear this year.

The state authorities did not, however, agree to the printing of the books of J. Walc and A. Zagajewski until such time as they "withdraw from hostile activity," which was supposed to be a reference to their active attitude in the democratic opposition. Despite these facts, Iwaszkiewicz stated that in the Polish People's Republic there are no "witchhunts," because, as he said, "We live in the epoch of Edward Gierek," who had personally asked Iwaszkiewicz to convey to the writers his wishes for literary successes and personal prosperity. There was no applause after this statement

by the chairman. The replies were examples of his actions which sufficiently characterized his optimism, which is always obedient toward the authorities. It was shown that there are such witchhunts and that they are campaigns.

Jacek Wozniakowski spoke about the history of the anniversary issue of the monthly ZNAK which had been prepared for the 40th anniversary of the beginning of the war. This important Catholic journal wanted to present by means of documents what had been the attitude of Poles at the moment the war broke out. This special edition was not quite 200 pages long. The censorship confiscated 104 of those pages. Such documents as the resolution of the Polish Socialist Party, critical statements concerning Poland's occupation of Zaolzie, and articles by Ignar Niedzialkowski, Padziewski, and many others were among the victims of the censorship. All these texts were eliminated in their entirety. The famous speech made by Beck in the Sejm on 5 May 1939 was also not permitted, although it had been cited many times on Warsaw television. It turned out, however, that the text had been purposefully altered for television. In ZNAK it was to appear in its authentic version.... The censorship did not want to permit the fabrication to be revealed.

Jan Jozef Szczepanski, the well-known Catholic writer, attacked the shameful policy of the authorities which intends to blur and deform historical consciousness in society. This is action which does harm to national culture and to the struggle for truth about our past. Szczepanski read a letter from Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, who used the example of himself to illustrate the situation of writers in the country. He was deprived of the right to publish, to travel, and to maintain contacts with his readers. He met penal-administrative repressions for delivering a reading about the attitudes of Poles during the war.

Halina Skrobiszewska spoke about the special black lists on which the authorities put writers who are not dear to them. One is not allowed to invite those who are on these lists to authors' evenings. Krzysztof Rakolewski criticized Andrzej Wasilewski, the secretary of the party cell in the Union of Writers and simultaneously the director of the State Publishing Institute, for his article in TRYBUNA LUDU, in which he attacked oppositionist writers in a style appropriate to the Stalin era.

Jerzy Sito, Marek Nowakowski, Jerzy Zagorski, Stefan Bratkowski, Lech Badkowski, Kamila Mondral, and Pawel Hertz were among those who condemned the policy of the authorities, which is inappropriate and harmful for culture. In the lobby of the building where the meeting took place it was described as "shooting into the same wicket," with a 20 to 0 score. The authorities were convinced that the attitude of the writers had not changed since the Katowice meeting, but rather that it had become strengthened in its determined demands. The demand that emigre authors be printed in the country was fulfilled only half-way after Katowice. A volume of essays by the deceased S. Vincenz is to appear, but printing of the works of Milosz continues not to be approved. In Radziejowice the writers emphasized that the state authorities have evaded the undertaking of a real dialogue on matters of national culture with the authors' milieu. The level of radio and television and of many films suffers because of this.

PARAMILITARY DIVER PROGRAM DISPLEASES ARMY, NAVY

Warsaw CZATA in Polish No 48-49, 2-9 Dec 79 pp 1-2

[Article by Magdalena Brzeska]

[Text] The instruction of frogmen to meet necessary military needs is one of the main concerns of the National Defense League (LOK). The significance of this training grows from year to year; the tasks involved increase in quantity and quality and one can perceive a distinct improvement in fulfilling these duties.

However, despite unquestionable accomplishments in this field, there are still many problems that require clear-cut solutions. These are problems dealing with the course of instruction, selection of candidates, the supplementing of basic instruction, the providing of equipment and the like. For a discussion of all these points and for a closer look at the problems plaguing training centers, one can examine the preceding number of this publication, where the proceedings of the Main Board of the League of National Defense (ZG LOK) were devoted to the search for new solutions in this field. Participating in these proceedings were representatives from leading institutions: General Staff of the Polish Army, Pomeranian Military District Headquarters, the Navy and the Diver/Frogman Training Center (OSNiP) of the Polish Army (WP).

One of the most important issues raised during the proceedings was the whole set of problems regarding the level of instruction received at clubs. The deficiencies at the club level are clearly reflected further along in the intramural system. Facts indicate that not all those completing instruction are prepared to go on to higher instruction. Conducted tests show, that many trainees do not possess adequate swimming skills nor are they sufficiently trained to descend into water. The reasons for such a state of affairs are many; among them is a critical lack of training facilities. Also, steps undertaken to secure swimming pools and the like are started far too late. Deriving from these experiences, plans are now being made, among other plans, to hold a minimum, 2-week, special training period next year preceding the frogman-instructor course of LOK. In the course of discussions, attention was turned to the need for greater initiative

from the Voivodship Administration (ZW) of LOK, in pursuing steady improvement at the level of club instruction. What would be highly desirable in this regard, as desirable as it is in the field of automotive instruction, would be specific suggestions pertaining to better equipment for instruction centers; e.g., teaching aids.

The training season on the open seas begins in May and lasts until the middle of September. Financial expenditures, however, are designated for the maintenance of training centers for all 12 months of the year. With respect to this, a representative of ZW LOK in Zielona Gora remarked, if it would not be a good idea to look into the possibility of instructing the military reserves in the off-season as well, for more effective management of training centers; present facilities, however, would have to be expanded. Still, the question of more economical use of training centers deserves some thinking over, in view of the existing great need for a schooled cadre of frogmen for the LOK.

Club instruction and the possible year-round use of aquatic training centers were only a few of the more important topics discussed at the proceedings. Other questions also touched upon dealt with the subsistence of course participants; specifically, the raising of allowances set aside for this purpose, the increase of non-personnel funds and the like. Much time was also spent on the procedure of sending a trainee's health certificate to training centers. Past practice and intervention of military units as a "middleman" have considerably delayed arrival of the certificates to the interested parties; health certificates often arrive after the training course has begun. It appears that the garrison medical boards ought to send the certificates directly to the training centers. Besides questions of a general nature, representatives of ZW LOK, who are heads of departments of instruction, carefully pointed out problems that are cropping up in certain training centers. For example, there is a need for appointing instructors with military training for reserve officer instruction in the Slawa Slaska, the need for a full-time mechanic to look after diving equipment and allocations for a vehicle to transport trainees and diving gear on training exercises. The question was brought up, how to suitably honor the more outstanding instructors, given their personal commitment and influence on bringing about results. It was proposed that special instruction camps for frogmen as well as deep-sea voyages beyond the Baltic be arranged as a form of recognition. Attention was then turned to the need of improving the competence of frogmen and heightening the popularity of diving by organizing local frogmen competitions more frequently and by taking part in functions sponsored by other organizations such as: Polish Tourist and Local Studies Society (PTTK) or Volunteer Water Rescue Service. Many parts of the discussion also centered about equipment certification.

Representatives from the leading military institutions, who were present at the proceedings, took to task the discussed problems. A representative of the rescue service spoke about the supply, repair and certification of equipment; good, new equipment, full supplies of diving suits, oxygen tanks

and the like will be critical problems. Unfortunately, it appears that the forecast for the next few years will make it necessary to limit ourselves to the use of equipment which the organization now has at its disposal, for no new allocations can be counted on for another few years. Attention was also brought to bear on the wasting of good opportunities to get oxygen tanks certified at technical inspection stations.

A representative of the Naval Headquarters spoke about the instruction of military reserves in Jastarnia and Slawa Slaska. He pointed out that instructors are not always adequately prepared to work with reservists, who many times know more than their instructors do. Would it not be better then, to replace these instructors with trained, reserved soldiers from the Diver/Frogman Training Center (OSNiP) of the Polish Army (WP). In answer, a representative of the OSNiP officially declared the appointment of one officer as an instructor at Jastarnia. The same representative also committed himself to making a training center available to LOK for conducting instructor's courses; in addition, he emphasized the urgent need of LOK to pay close attention to continued overall improvement of swimming skills.

The representative of the General Staff of the Polish Army devoted most of his time to club instruction. He stated, among other things, if club-conducted classes for Level I courses were conducted according to the soldier's training system of instruction, then the final number of dropouts on exams would be lowered.

There also exists the need for standardizing test procedures. Some centers adhere to the practice of ending a course only on the basis of good and very good results on theoretical tests; however, it seems that the most suitable testing procedure is a theoretical exam combined with a practical test.

Speaking at the conclusion of the proceedings, the director of training for the Armed Forces of the Main Board (ZG) of LOK, pointed to the unquestionable progress in the training of frogmen for military needs--a progress observable from year to year both in quantity and quality.

The standing of instruction has risen and one can note a marked improvement in training facilities. The level of discipline also rose significantly as well as the requirements put before the instructors and trainees. Besides these unmistakable positives, there are still quite a few shortcomings manifested in not always the best candidates receiving club instruction and in the deficiencies of club instruction itself.

Deficiencies in the first stage have a very definite bearing on the results of soldier's training. Furthermore, the director stated, that some centers lack the kind of care and maintenance of equipment that go into prolonging the life expectancy of equipment. Colonel Bak approved the idea of conferring honors on the best instructors, with awards ranging from a simple expression of thanks and approval to a bestowing of state decorations or a ministerial promotion to the next military rank or even an ocean voyage for the most devoted instructors on the flagship, "General Zaruski."

The outcome of the proceedings of the ZG LOK was very fruitful. In its path fell some of the more locally active members as well as many interesting observations that were fermenting in workers. Continued improvement in the level of instruction will be closely connected with the intensifying of efforts from all echelons of the League, toward a modernization of facilities, improvement in teaching abilities of instructors, the creation of better social-living conditions and the strengthening of discipline during training.

9552

CSO: 2600

'SCINTEIA' ON CEAUSESCU'S CONCEPT OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

AU212034 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1933 GMT 21 Mar 80 AU

["International Solidarity With Advanced Forces Everywhere, A Fundamental Direction of President Ceausescu's Theoretical and Practical Activity"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 21 Mar--SCINTEIA of March 21 carries an extensive article under the above headline, emphasizing the way how international traditions of the working-class movement in Romania, of Romanian communists have found "brilliant continuation" in the theoretical and practical work of Nicolae Ceausescu in the 15 years since he has been at the head of the R.C.P. and of the Romanian State.

Based on scientific, materialist-dialectical analysis of historic development and present-day realities, the major Bucharest daily writes, Nicolae Ceausescu coherently disclosed the content and requirements of international solidarity in our epoch, singling out a concept which makes a valuable contribution to the treasure store of contemporary revolutionary thinking.

President Nicolae Ceausescu has untiringly emphasized the lofty mission of communists as exponents of the working class' vital interests, called upon to unabatedly serve in faith and devotion, the people of which they were born and whose aspirations they represent. It is obvious that everything the communist party does for the cause of the revolution, for the building of the new system in its own country does not only serve the respective people but also means concrete, actual support to the international working class, to the progressive forces everywhere. That is why, the care of the communist party for the progress and prosperity of the country cannot be opposed to the principles of international solidarity. On the contrary, it blends and organically harmonizes with these principles, SCINTEIA goes on, highlighting that one of the great merits of the R.C.P. leader is to have emphasized the dialectical unity between patriotism and international solidarity.

The theoretical definition by Nicolae Ceausescu of the concept of solidarity, SCINTEIA writes, has found truthful materialization in the

social practice, in the permanent emphasis on the fact that the securing of the smooth run of the socialist construction is not only a duty to the Romanian people, but it equally answers the international duties to the international working class, to all revolutionary forces. At the same time, under the impact of President Nicolae Ceausescu's thinking and thought, the R.C.P. has unfolded intense activity for educating the working people, the whole people in the spirit of militant solidarity with the working class, with all forces fighting for national and social liberation. The R.C.P. has and develops active relations with 90 communist and workers' parties, practically speaking with all parties, inclusive of parties between which divergencies or problems exist, which confers on the R.C.P. a position of exemplary value in the communist movement, writes SCINTEIA. During numberless bilateral meetings between Nicolae Ceausescu and the leaders of the respective parties, as well as during congresses, reunions, symposia, fertile exchanges of views and experience were made. Considerably deepening and diversifying have been the links of friendship and collaboration with the communist parties in the other socialist countries, alongside which we are building the new system, socialism and communism, links with a decisive role in the strengthening of the friendship and amplification of the multilateral cooperation among the socialist countries, in their mutual interest as well as in the interest of the general cause of socialism in the world. At the same time, the solidarity of the Romanian Communists has been permanently expressed with the struggle of the communists in the capitalist countries for progressive, democratic transformations.

SCINTEIA highlights that the R.C.P. general secretary is the active promoter of a broad outlook on solidarity, according to which solidarity should go beyond the anachronical limits of a secretarian nature, should embrace all detachments of the working class and of the revolutionary movement, all progressive, anti-imperialist movement. In this respect, mentioned is the importance attached to the development of the relations of collaboration among the communists parties and socialist parties, the socio-democratic parties and other democratic organizations in each country and internationally, with a view to promoting the goals of national independence, peace and social progress.

Anywhere, on any continent, in any part of the world where the peoples started the fight against domination and oppression, for self-dependence and the affirmation of the national being, SCINTEIA writes, they enjoyed the selfless solidarity and consistent, revolutionary support of Romania, of her president. This multilateral support--material and moral, political and diplomatic--granted to the national liberation movements, has founded most varied materialization, from the signing of documents of deep-going significance, marking the first international recognition of these movements as legitimate representatives of the respective peoples, to actions within the UN and other world forums.

[AU212040] This consistent, unabated orientation is the corollary of President Nicolae Ceausescu's fundamental outlook on the peoples' inalienable and imprescriptible right to decide self-dependently on their destinies,

to fully master their national resources, to govern their life as they wish, without any out-side immixture as an essential component of mankind's peace and progress. Having an inestimable merit in the attainment of the eternal dream of freedom and independence of the Romanian people, the R.C.P. general secretary has equally campaigned for what he has done to the benefit of his own people to be done for the whole of mankind--his untiring action in this sense standing for another proof of the close link between patriotism and internationalism.

The broad development of the relations between the RCP and the other revolutionary progressive, anti-imperialist forces emphasizes, SCINTEIA goes on, that the relations of friendship and solidarity between these forces are fully possible when they are grounded upon just and healthy principled basis. Nicolae Ceausescu has the merit of having substantially contributed to the crystallization of the principles and norms of relations among the communist and workers' parties, among the various revolutionary, progressive and democratic parties and progressive organizations. Setting out from the consideration that the parties unfold their activity in a big variety of conditions, the relations among them can only be built upon the principle of autonomy, upon everyone's right to self-dependently establish its political line, its strategy and tactics, based on the principles of equality, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual esteem and regard. Nicolae Ceausescu stressed permanently that it is on the strict, truthful observance of these norms and principles that depend the restoration of relations of confidence and unity, the achievement of a new type, superior solidarity in the international communist movement.

The outstanding importance of the promoting of the cause of unity in the communist movement derives from the fact that it is the essential premise of achieving broad collaboration on an international plane, the condition of rallying in a general stream the huge and varied forces that have stood up in our day for social renewal, for the liquidation of the imperialist policy of strength and dictate, for the promotion of new relations among states, for peace and detente, freedom and progress.

The importance of concerted efforts of all social forces, of their unity of action, the article concludes--is one of the fundamental ideas of President Ceausescu, which is to be found throughout his work, especially now, when international situation records fresh instances of tension, his vibrating call to unity pregnantly expresses the lofty spirit of responsibility of the R.C.P. general secretary for the destinies of the whole of mankind.

CSO: 2020

ROMANIA

LIST OF DEPUTIES ELECTED TO GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 11 Mar 80 p 3

[Listing of deputies elected to the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania]

[Text] Bucharest Municipality

1. Nicolae Ceaulescu - electoral district No 1 - 23 August.
2. Dobrin Tamara Maria* - electoral district No 2 Titan.
3. Nedelcu Marin - electoral district No 3 Energeticienilor.
4. Dina Carol - electoral district No 4 Industriilor.
5. Rosen Moses - electoral district No 5 Baba Novac.
6. Boboc Nicu - electoral district No 6 30 December.
7. Nicolaescu Dumitru - electoral district No 7 Oltenita.
8. Pana Gheorghe - electoral district No 8 Metalurgiei.
9. Gheorghe Maria - electoral district No 9 Progresul.
10. Babici Emanoil - electoral district No 10 Brincoveanu.
11. Arseni Constantin - electoral district No 11 Unirii.
12. Teodorescu Cornelia - electoral district No 12 Ferentari.
13. Popescu Ioan Iovit - electoral district No 13 Rahovei.
14. Ivascu Marin - electoral district No 14 Magurele.
15. Dumitrescu-Busulenga Zoe - electoral district No 15 Cotroceni.
16. Burtea Elena Verona - electoral district No 16 Armata Poporului.
17. Nae Elena - electoral district No 17 Drumul Taberei.
18. Ciocan Maria - electoral district No 18 Tudor Vladimirescu.
19. Cornea Felicia Alexandrina - electoral district No 19 Militari.
20. Vilcu Rodica Paraschiva - electoral district No 20 Giulesti.
21. Mihoc Gheorghe - electoral district No 21 13 December.
22. Avram Ioan - electoral district No 22 Grivita Rosie.
23. Augustin Francisc Iosif - electoral district No 23 Chitila.
24. Stanculescu Silviu - electoral district No 24 Bucurestii-Noi.
25. Chirita Constantin - electoral district No 25 Baneasa-Pipera.
26. Vaduva Ilie - electoral district No 26 Dorobanti.
27. Moisescu Justin - electoral district No 27 Alexandru Sahia.

*Surnames are listed first followed by the given name.

28. Flitan Constantin - electoral district No 28 Tei.
29. Oproiu Alexandru Ioan - electoral district No 29 Colentina.
30. Ionica Georgeta - electoral district No 30 Obor.
31. Urdea Decebal - electoral district No 31 Republicii.
32. Belis Mariana - electoral district No 32 Iancului.
33. Ganea Nicolae - electoral district No 33 Pantelimon.

Alba County

1. Bogdan Ligia Elena - electoral district No 1 Alba Iulia.
2. Hategan Ana - electoral district No 2 Sebes.
3. Rosca Nicodim - electoral district No 3 Cugir.
4. Hurbean Nicolae - electoral district No 4 Cimpeni.
5. Rautu Leonte - electoral district No 5 Aiud.
6. Romitan Maria - electoral district No 6 Ocna Mures.
7. Beniuc Mihai - electoral district No 7 Blaj.

Arad County

1. Sabau Elisabeta - electoral district No 1 East Arad.
2. Siclovan Elena - electoral district No 2 West Arad.
3. Constantin Nicolae - electoral district No 3 South Arad.
4. Galea Ion - electoral district No 4 Pecica.
5. Iosif Nicolae - electoral district No 5 Chisineu-Cris.
6. Bucur Iuliana - electoral district No 6 Ineu.
7. Crisan Ioan Ascaniu - electoral district No 7 Sebis.
8. Aron Pavel - electoral district No 8 Lipova.

Arges County

1. Ceaulescu Elena - electoral district No 1 South Pitesti.
2. Mihulecea Cornel - electoral district No 2 North Pitesti.
3. Sapunaru Simion - electoral district No 3 East Pitesti.
4. Dobre Gheorghe - electoral district No 4 Cimpulung.
5. Florescu Mihail - electoral district No 5 Curtea de Arges.
6. Mitea Constantin - electoral district No 6 Costesti.
7. Stan Cecilia - electoral district No 7 Topoloveni.
8. Isac Ilariu - electoral district No 8 Stilpeni.
9. Pandrea Marina - electoral district No 9 Domnesti.
10. Sirbu Ion - electoral district No 10 Moraresti.
11. Dumitrica Valeriu - electoral district No 11 Izvoru.

Bacau County

1. Niculescu Paul - electoral district No 1 South Bacau.
2. Seica Florenta - electoral district No 2 North Bacau.
3. Berea Rodica - electoral district No 3 Buhusi.

4. Preoteasa Petre - electoral district No 4 Secuieni.
5. Vilcu Vasile - electoral district No 5 Podu Turcului.
6. Ionescu Maria - electoral district No 6 Sascut.
7. Stancu Zamfir - electoral district No 7 Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej.
8. Semeniuc Constanta - electoral district No 8 Tirgu Ocna.
9. Zarnescu Gheorghe - electoral district No 9 Livezi.
10. Sandu Eugen - electoral district No 10 Moinești.
11. Gainuse Alexandrina - electoral district No 11 Comanesti.

Bihor County

1. Maduta Gheorghe - electoral district No 1 North Oradea.
2. Fazekas Ianos - electoral district No 2 East Oradea.
3. Farkas Irina - electoral district No 3 South Oradea.
4. Feder Eva - electoral district No 4 Tileagd.
5. Papp Laszlo-Jozsef - electoral district No 5 Sacuieni.
6. Filipas Magdalena - electoral district No 6 Marghita.
7. Dobrescu Emilian - electoral district No 7 Alesd.
8. Blaj Gheorghe - electoral district No 8 "Dr Petru Groza."
9. Topliceanu Iulian - electoral district No 9 Beius.
10. Cocirlea Trandafir - electoral district No 10 Salonta.
11. Bodea Maria - electoral district No 11 Sinmartin.

Bistrita-Nasaud County

1. Marariu Traian - electoral district No 1 Bistrita.
2. Halasz Eugenia - electoral district No 2 Singeorz-Bai.
3. Marina Mihai - electoral district No 3 Nasaud.
4. Winter Richard - electoral district No 4 Beclean.
5. Moldovan Lucretia - electoral district No 5 Lechinta.

Botosani County

1. Podaru Georgeta - electoral district No 1 North Botosani.
2. Bratu Ioana - electoral district No 2 South Botosani.
3. Alexa Haralambie - electoral district No 3 Flaminzi.
4. Hutanu Lucia - electoral district No 4 Bucecea.
5. Ciobanu Lina - electoral district No 5 Dorohoi.
6. Gomoiu Gheorghe - electoral district No 6 Darabani.
7. Rusinaru Ion - electoral district No 7 Saveni.
8. Bartus Florea - electoral district No 8 Stefanesti.

Brasov County

1. Dranga Maria - electoral district No 1 Brasov-Center.
2. Negrutiu Filofteia - electoral district No 2 Brasov-Bartolomeu.
3. Sechel Vasile Alexa - electoral district No 3 Brasov-Tractorul.
4. Ciurea Ana - electoral district No 4 Brasov-Saturn.
5. Dascalescu Constantin - electoral district No 5 Brasov-Steagul Rosu.

6. Balint Andreiu - electoral district No 6 Sacele.
7. Krauss Margareta - electoral district No 7 Codlea.
8. Petrescu Gheorghe - electoral district No 8 Zarnesti.
9. Dumitrache Gheorghe - electoral district No 9 Fagaras.
10. Furo Iuliu-Ioan - electoral district No 10 Rupea.

Braila County

1. Lupu Petre - electoral district No 1 South Braila.
2. Catrinescu Ion - electoral district No 2 West Braila.
3. Moraru Mihai - electoral district No 3 North Braila.
4. Margean Mihalache - electoral district No 4 Insuratei.
5. Zainea Ioana - electoral district No 5 Ianca.
6. Has Teodor - electoral district No 6 Faurei.

Buzau County

1. Radulescu Gheorghe - electoral district No 1 Southeast Buzau.
2. Druiu Ana Georgeta - electoral district No 2 Northwest Buzau.
3. Ceausescu Nicu - electoral district No 3 Rimnicu-Sarat.
4. Chioveanu Stela - electoral district No 4 Balta Alba.
5. Curticeanu Silviu - electoral district No 5 Pogoanele.
6. Marinescu Florina Doina - electoral district No 6 Pietroasele.
7. Potop Vasile - electoral district No 7 Nehoiu.
8. Mocanu Mircea - electoral district No 8 Berca.
9. Draganescu Mihai - electoral district No 9 Beceni.

Caras-Severin County

1. Bitang Dimitrie Alexandru - electoral district No 1 East Resita.
2. Patan Ion - electoral district No 2 West Resita.
3. Potocean Gheorghe - electoral district No 3 Bocsa.
4. Petrie Adriana - electoral district No 4 Caransebes.
5. Uglar Iosif - electoral district No 5 Baile Herculane.
6. Busui Nicolae - electoral district No 6 Oravita.
7. Milosevici Marta - electoral district No 7 Moldova Noua.

Cluj County

1. Vlad Ionel-Silviu - electoral district No 1 Cluj-Napoca University.
2. Moldovan Ecaterina - electoral district No 2 Cluj-Napoca Marasti.
3. Verdet Ilie - electoral district No 3 Cluj-Napoca 16 February.
4. Rebreanu Vasile - electoral district No 4 Cluj-Napoca Manastur.
5. Florea Doina - electoral district No 5 Cluj-Napoca Grigorescu.
6. Mocuta Stefan - electoral district No 6 Turda.
7. Giurgiu Gheorghe - electoral district No 7 Cimpia Turzii.
8. Letay Lejos - electoral district No 8 Gilau.

9. Pejes Iuliu - electoral district No 9 Huedin.
10. Chertes Nicolae - electoral district No 10 Apahida.
11. Kovacs Ionif - electoral district No 11 Cheria.
12. Bulucea Vasile - electoral district No 12 Dej.

Constanta County

1. Fuloarea Dumitru - electoral district No 1 East Constanta.
2. Andrei Voica - electoral district No 2 North Constanta.
3. Stoian Ion - electoral district No 3 Northeast Constanta.
4. Vladuc Elena - electoral district No 4 Southwest Constanta.
5. Draganescu Emil - electoral district No 5 Eforie.
6. Cinzeaca Valentina - electoral district No 6 Mangalia.
7. Berghianu Maxim - electoral district No 7 Adamclisi.
8. Ionita Ion - electoral district No 8 Medgidia.
9. Hirjau Mihai - electoral district No 9 Cernavoda.
10. Popa George - electoral district No 10 Navodari.

Covasna County

1. Nagy Ferdinand - electoral district No 1 Sfintu Gheorghe.
2. Jakabos Csaba Istvan - electoral district No 2 Tirgu Secuiesc.
3. Dragos Ioan - electoral district No 3 Intorsura Buzaului.
4. Szabo Irina - electoral district No 4 Baraolt.

Dimbovita County

1. Barbieru Ion - electoral district No 1 Tirgoviste.
2. Dragomir Gheorghe - electoral district No 2 Pucioasa.
3. Bobu Emil - electoral district No 3 Moreni.
4. Novolan Traian - electoral district No 4 Gaesti.
5. Ene Victoria - electoral district No 5 Titu.
6. Ristache Florea - electoral district No 6 Voinesti.
7. Teoreanu Ion - electoral district No 7 Racari.
8. Ionescu Alexandru - electoral district No 8 Nucet.

Dolj County

1. Voitec Stefan - electoral district No 1 Craiova-"Electroputere."
2. Boros Maria Margareta - electoral district No 2 Craiova-Brazda lui Novac.
3. Gheban Gheorghe - electoral district No 3 Craiova-Craiova Noua.
4. Gemescu Virginia - electoral district No 4 West Craiova.
5. Teodorescu Constantin - electoral district No 5 Craiova-1 May.
6. Margaritescu Alexandru - electoral district No 6 Filiasi.
7. Sandu Eugen - electoral district No 7 Plenita.
8. Avram Maria - electoral district No 8 Calafat.

9. Spornic Aneta - electoral district No 9 Băilești.
10. Dobrescu Miu - electoral district No 10 Segarcea.
11. Florescu Eugen - electoral district No 11 Birca.
12. Cretu Virginia - electoral district No 12 Bechet.
13. Rosu Dumitru - electoral district No 13 Leu.

Galati County

1. Cojocariu Silviu - electoral district No 1 East Galati.
2. Velinkov Coreliu - electoral district No 2 West Galati.
3. Oprea Gheorghe - electoral district No 3 North Galati.
4. Agachi Nicolae - electoral district No 4 South Galati.
5. Andrunache Emilia - electoral district No 5 Tecuci.
6. Balint Constanta - electoral district No 6 Poltesti.
7. Benescu Paraschiv - electoral district No 7 Pachea.
8. Musat Ion - electoral district No 8 Liesti.
9. Vasilcan Adela - electoral district No 9 Tirgu Bujor.
10. Ene Petru - electoral district No 10 Corod.

Gorj County

1. Trofin Virgil - electoral district No 1 Tirgu Jiu.
2. Ogheriaci Vasile - electoral district No 2 Motru.
3. Colara Gheorghe - electoral district No 3 Tirgu Carbunesti.
4. Gavrilescu Nicolae - electoral district No 4 Novaci.
5. Dicu Emilian - electoral district No 5 Turceni.
6. Feroiu Iulia - electoral district No 6 Bumbesti-Jiu.

Harghita County

1. Szasz Iosif - electoral district No 1 Miercurea-Ciuc.
2. Porima Costica - electoral district No 2 South Miercurea-Ciuc.
3. Jakab Elisabeta - electoral district No 3 Odorheiu Secuiesc.
4. Racz Attila Arpad - electoral district No 4 Gheorghieni.
5. Muresan Ana - electoral district No 5 Toplita.
6. Korodi Stefan - electoral district No 6 Cristaru Secuiesc.

Hunedoara County

1. Ursu Ioan - electoral district No 1 East Deva.
2. Horia Didona - electoral district No 2 West Deva.
3. Niculescu Mihai - electoral district No 3 East Hunedoara.
4. Faur Sabin - electoral district No 4 West Hunedoara.
5. Flucsa Maria - electoral district No 5 Hateg.
6. Ciucu Ion - electoral district No 6 Petrosani.
7. Nemes Vasile - electoral district No 7 Lupeni.
8. Brindusa Elena - electoral district No 8 Orastie.
9. Faur Voicu - electoral district No 9 Brad.

Ialomița County

1. Deliu Elena - electoral district No 1 Slobozia.
2. Eremia Dinu Stefan - electoral district No 2 Calarasi.
3. Tarachiu Ion - electoral district No 3 Petesti.
4. Tuduce Melinti - electoral district No 4 Tandarei.
5. Totu Ioan - electoral district No 5 Dragalina.
6. Moraru Niculina - electoral district No 6 Lehliu-Gara.
7. Glosan Nicolae - electoral district No 7 Cazanesti.

Iasi County

1. Popescu Dumitru - electoral district No 1 Iasi-Copou.
2. Beldie Cameluta - electoral district No 2 Iasi-Tatarasi.
3. Enache Petru - electoral district No 3 Iasi-Socola.
4. Lacatusu Petru - electoral district No 4 Iasi-Nicolina.
5. Nitescu Maria - electoral district No 5 Iasi-Alexandru cel Bun.
6. Asaftei Maria - electoral district No 6 Tirgu Frumos.
7. Rauta Vasile - electoral district No 7 Pascani.
8. Iacoban Mircea Radu - electoral district No 8 Hirliu.
9. Arapasu Teoctist - electoral district No 9 Belcesti.
10. Martis Luigi - electoral district No 10 Vladeni.
11. Rosca Maria Elena - electoral district No 11 Raducaneni.
12. Oradean Lidia - electoral district No 12 Tibanesti.
13. Popovici Nicolae - electoral district No 13 Podu Iloaiei.

Ilfov County

1. Savu Elena - electoral district No 1 Giurgiu.
2. Radulescu Ilie - electoral district No 2 Oltenita.
3. Enache Marin - electoral district No 3 Urziceni.
4. Musat Vasile - electoral district No 4 Buftea.
5. Rosu Gheorghe - electoral district No 5 Fratesti.
6. Popescu-Puturi Ion - electoral district No 6 Calugareni.
7. Constantin Anica - electoral district No 7 Chimpsti.
8. Popescu Anghel Valentin - electoral district No 8 Bolintin-Vale.
9. Teodorescu Virgil - electoral district No 9 Snagov.
10. Vermesan Ioan - electoral district No 10 Afumati.
11. Miculescu Angelo - electoral district No 11 Fundulea.
12. Muresan Tiberiu - electoral district No 12 Budesti.
13. Cenciu Florin - electoral district No 13 Hotarele.

Maramures County

1. Vida Gheza - electoral district No 1 North Baia Mare.
2. Pop Viorica - electoral district No 2 South Baia Mare.
3. Luca Stefan - electoral district No 3 Ulmeni.

4. Bercia Iosif - electoral district No 4 Tirgu Lapus.
5. Dicu Nicolaie - electoral district No 5 Baia Sprie.
6. Pop Valeria - electoral district No 6 Sighetu Marmatiei.
7. Fazekas Ludovic - electoral district No 7 Viseu de Sus.
8. Pop Gheorghe - electoral district No 8 Borsa.

Mehedinti County

1. Prodan Elena - electoral district No 1 East Dobreta-Turnu Severin.
2. Bacalu Vasile - electoral district No 2 West Dobreta-Turnu Severin.
3. Plostinaru Iulian - electoral district No 3 Strehaia.
4. Pungan Vasile - electoral district No 4 Vinju Mare.
5. Spinu Vasilica - electoral district No 5 Cujmir.

Mures County

1. Barna Otilia - electoral district No 1 West Tirgu Mures.
2. Cherebetiu Ileana - electoral district No 2 North Tirgu Mures.
3. Gere Mihai - electoral district No 3 South Tirgu Mures.
4. Prioteasa Paula - electoral district No 4 Sighisoara.
5. Boitan Ion - electoral district No 5 Tirnaveni.
6. Olar Iacob - electoral district No 6 Ludus.
7. Fodor Francisc - electoral district No 7 Riciu.
8. Veres Nicolae - electoral district No 8 Reghin.
9. Soare Stan - electoral district No 9 Gurghiu.
10. Hajdy Gyoza Victor - electoral district No 10 Sovata.

Neamt County

1. Gadea Suzana - electoral district No 1 North Piatra Neamt.
2. Gagu Adrian Cristina - electoral district No 2 South Piatra Neamt.
3. Vizitiu Aurica - electoral district No 3 Roznov.
4. Jipa Natalia - electoral district No 4 Trifesti.
5. Sav Vasile - electoral district No 5 Roman.
6. Ceterchi Ioan - electoral district No 6 Sabaoani.
7. Manta Gheorghe - electoral district No 7 Tirgu Neamt.
8. Bosteanu Maria - electoral district No 8 Baltatesti.
9. Cristescu Valeriu Dumitru - electoral district No 9 Bicaz.

Olt County

1. Orzatu Alexandru - electoral district No 1 Slatina.
2. Barbulescu Vasile - electoral district No 2 Scornicesti.
3. Cavanescu Pantelimon - electoral district No 3 Potcoava.
4. Moise Florea - electoral district No 4 Draganesti-Olt.
5. Tesu Ion - electoral district No 5 Corabia.

6. Chitulica Maria - electoral district No 6 Studina.
7. Petrica Ioana - electoral district No 7 Caracal.
8. Albuletu Ion - electoral district No 8 Piatra-Olt.
9. Dinca Ion - electoral district No 9 Bala.

Prahova County

1. Burtica Cornel - electoral district No 1 South Ploiesti.
2. Popa Alecu - electoral district No 2 Southwest Ploiesti.
3. Arsene Ioana Marilena - electoral district No 3 West Ploiesti.
4. Milea Vasile - electoral district No 4 North Ploiesti.
5. Teodorescu Stelian - electoral district No 5 East Ploiesti.
6. Cioraneanu Cornelia - electoral district No 6 Gherghita.
7. Circei Ion - electoral district No 7 Baicoi.
8. Stoian Aurica - electoral district No 8 Cimpina.
9. Homostean George - electoral district No 9 Sinaia.
10. Petrescu Gheorghe - electoral district No 10 Slanic.
11. Macovescu George - electoral district No 11 Valenii de Munte.
12. Gaston Marin Gheorghe - electoral district No 12 Boldesti-Scaeni.
13. Marin Constantin - electoral district No 13 Urlati.
14. Haivei Gheorghe - electoral district No 14 Mizil.

Satu Mare County

1. Cadar Vasile - electoral district No 1 South Satu Mare.
2. Banc Iosif - electoral district No 2 North Satu Mare.
3. Foris Ioan - electoral district No 3 Carei.
4. Pop Maria - electoral district No 4 Negresti-Oas.
5. Fiacske Carol - electoral district No 5 Tasnad.
6. Ferencz Ana - electoral district No 6 Livada.
7. Bente Ecaterina-Terezia - electoral district No 7 Ardud.

Salaj County

1. Pascuta Ioan - electoral district No 1 Zalau.
2. Talpos Vasile - electoral district No 2 Simleu Silvaniei.
3. Cazacu Virgil - electoral district No 3 Cehu Silvaniei.
4. Farcas Dochia - electoral district No 4 Jibou.
5. Ionas Letitia - electoral district No 5 Hida.

Sibiu County

1. Negrila Miron Mircea - electoral district No 1 South Sibiu.
2. Klein Albert - electoral district No 2 Central Sibiu.
3. Constantinescu Elena - electoral district No 3 North Sibiu.

4. Barbuleț Vasile - electoral district No 4 Miercurea Sibiului.
5. Aldea Irina - electoral district No 5 Medias.
6. Eisenburger Eduard - electoral district No 6 Dumbraveni.
7. Petrescu Iulia - electoral district No 7 Agnita.
8. Radoi Marin - electoral district No 8 Avrig.

Suceava County

1. Turtureanu Nicolai - electoral district No 1 Suceava.
2. Cozariuc Trandafira - electoral district No 2 Radauti.
3. Ceausescu Ilie - electoral district No 3 Siret.
4. Voicu Stefan - electoral district No 4 Putna.
5. Siminiceanu Ion - electoral district No 5 Solca.
6. Monor Gheorghe - electoral district No 6 Gura Humorului.
7. Moga Ioachim - electoral district No 7 Cimpulung Moldovenesc.
8. Girba Traian - electoral district No 8 Vatra Dornei.
9. Popa Dumitru - electoral district No 9 Falticeni.
10. Manole Aurica - electoral district No 10 Dolhasca.
11. Salajan Ioan - electoral district No 11 Veresti.

Teleorman County

1. Gadea Paraschivescu Elena - electoral district No 1 Alexandria.
2. Mihailescu Emilian - electoral district No 2 Draganesti Vlasca.
3. Postelnicu Tudor - electoral district No 3 Videle.
4. Roman Teodor - electoral district No 4 Olteni.
5. Preda Marin - electoral district No 5 Dracsenei.
6. Constantinescu Valentina - electoral district No 6 Rosiori de Vede.
7. Ionescu Stefania - electoral district No 7 Salcia.
8. Lauric Vasile - electoral district No 8 Turnu Magurele.
9. Vasile Marin - electoral district No 9 Zimnicea.

Timis County

1. Bagiu Ionita Liviu Traian - electoral district No 1 Northeast Timisoara.
2. Coman Ion - electoral district No 2 Southeast Timisoara.
3. Anton Ioan - electoral district No 3 South Timisoara.
4. Danica Petre - electoral district No 4 Southwest Timisoara.
5. Vuia Silvia - electoral district No 5 Northwest Timisoara.
6. Tascau Ileana - electoral district No 6 Lugoj.
7. Sonea Emilia - electoral district No 7 Deta.
8. Hausser Hedwiga Margareta - electoral district No 8 Jimbolia.
9. Doggendorf Nicolai - electoral district No 9 Sinnicolau Mare.
10. Siminiuc Marioara - electoral district No 10 Ortisoara.
11. Nichita Maria Georgeta - electoral district No 11 Buzias.
12. Proca Eugen - electoral district No 12 Faget.

Tulcea County

1. Anghel Dumitru - electoral district No 1 Tulcea.
2. Vlad Casilica - electoral district No 2 Babadag.
3. Bascianu Octavian - electoral district No 3 Topolog.
4. Petre Ioan - electoral district No 4 Macin.

Vaslui County

1. Filipas Cornelia - electoral district No 1 Vaslui.
2. Foarfeca Costica - electoral district No 2 Birlad.
3. Cilibiu Gheorghe - electoral district No 3 Negresti.
4. Bejan Aurica - electoral district No 4 Husi.
5. Paler Octavian - electoral district No 5 Codaesti.
6. Budacia Maria - electoral district No 6 Rosiesti.
7. Onescu Cornel - electoral district No 7 Murgeni.
8. Chitac Mihai - electoral district No 8 Pulesti.

Vilcea County

1. Dumitriu Justin Gheorghe - electoral district No 1 North Rimnicu Vilcea.
2. Turel Cornelia - electoral district No 2 South Rimnicu Vilcea.
3. Olteanu Constantin - electoral district No 3 Brezoi.
4. Andrei Stefan - electoral district No 4 Horezu.
5. Nicula Rodica - electoral district No 5 Ladesti.
6. Coman Teodor - electoral district No 6 Zatreni.
7. Aslan Ioan - electoral district No 7 Dragasani.

Vrancea County

1. Mocanu Alexandrina - electoral district No 1 Focsani.
2. Iliescu Ion - electoral district No 2 Odobesti.
3. Stoica Gheorghe - electoral district No 3 Panciu.
4. Duma Aurel - electoral district No 4 Adjud.
5. Bacinschi Iuliana - electoral district No 5 Vulturii.
6. Davidoiu Ion - electoral district No 6 Gugesti.

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CSO: 2700

CRITICISM OF 'ROMANIAN WESTERNS' EXAMINED

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian 21 Feb 80 p 17

[Article by D. I. Suchianu: "The Second "Romanian Western'"]

[Excerpts] The film of Dan Pita, "Profetul, Aurul si Ardelenii" [The Prophet, the Gold and the Transylvanians] as well as the film of Mircea Veroiu, "Artista, Dolarii si Ardelenii" [The Actress, the Dollars and the Transylvanians] have been completely erroneously, called "Romanian westerns." A western can only be American. The fact that it was made by a Bucharest film company, with Romanian actors, does not mean that the western, that is, the western story, has become Romanian. The merit of the first two episodes of the serial is the fact that they have preserved the American character of these adventures. Of course, Italian westerns and German westerns have been made. Or rather, they have tried to make them since so-called "spaghetti" westerns are not westerns but simple macaroni on celluloid, painful cinematographic nothings.

Does this mean that artistically speaking and psychologically speaking the films mentioned have nothing Romanian in them? On the contrary. The story written by Titus Popovici (the scenario writer for both films) describes an original, interesting adventure. And the theme of the serial takes on special colors because of the predominance of the Transylvanian tone. This is a tone made up of good will, understanding, honesty, pride, dignity (harmoniously compatible with modesty and decency).

Of course, with the exception of the three Transylvanians, all the characters speak English--with Romanian subtitles. Just like in the first episode, the one directed by Dan Pita. I remember that someone criticized the speech of the actors whose voices were dubbed in over those of the Romanians. The critics said that they spoke with an English accent instead of using American slang. An absurd objection. The characters were all emigrants from the second stage, the phase of the "conquest of the West," when the great majority were pioneers and they had not become accustomed to the confused nasal slang of the Yankees. The people had learned English recently, as they could, in a scholarly fashion, receiving their accent from the professor. This is why they had the right to have an accent.

Of course, for one, it is an accent and for another, it is actor's diction. The fact that the characters are presumed to have learned the language in a scholarly fashion, with a professor, does not give them the right to have the delivery of a scholar who is reciting a lesson. They must endeavor to "play" the characters as actors. This is achieved in impeccable fashion in the episode directed by Pita but much less so in the second episode where the English text is good but the delivery sounds like that of a candidate taking an exam.

CSO: 2700

REPORT ON PREPARATIONS FOR EXCHANGE OF PARTY CARDS

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Feb 80 p 4

[Article by Victor Birladeanu: "Communists About Themselves, About the Work and Life of the Collective--Individual Conversations, an Important Stage in the Political Action of Exchanging Party Cards"]

[Excerpts] In the party organizations in the entire country, a particularly significant stage of preparations for the exchange of party cards is taking place--the individual conversations of the bureaus of the basic organizations with their members. These conversations have already generated a number of useful conclusions in regard to the way that party activity is conceived and carried on. Some of these conclusions are presented in this article with the assistance of Comrade Radu Balan, first secretary of the Timisoara Municipality Party Committee and Comrade Ion Popa, first secretary of the party committee of Sector 2 in Bucharest.

I would like to stress, first of all--Comrade Radu Balan tells us--that the practice of individual discussions with party members is not new in the life of our organizations. It was introduced a few years ago, on the basis of the valuable directives of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, as a current work method, of a periodic nature, and has had notable results. Of course, the individual discussions which are going on at present represent not only the continuation of a tested practice but also a preliminary step in the exchange of party cards, reminding each communist of the great obligations which he has as a member of the Romanian Communist Party, helping to strengthen the cohesion of the party organizations and of their capacity to unite the efforts of all workers for the achievement of the important objectives set forth by the 12th party congress.

It is, one might say, a real "moment of revolutionary truth," intended to give all communists a precise and clear perspective in regard to the lofty political and moral demands which the party makes of them, Comrade Ion Popa adds. In places where the discussions with party members have had the attention and concern of the party organs, the conversations have resulted in a profound critical and self-critical analysis of the activity of the communists.

Question: Are there any issues on which special emphasis has been placed?

Balan: The participation of communists in production is a matter of top priority in the individual conversations and essential attention has been given to the way in which each one of them works to execute the economic tasks of this final year of the five-year plan. In each work place, the individual discussions have been closely connected with specific problems and difficulties arising in the activity of the respective collectives, which the communists, in particular, are called upon to resolve.

Question: The individual discussions with communists are not limited to professional problems. How are the ethical demands which the party makes of its members reflected in these conversations?

Popa: In almost all the party organizations, the individual discussions have been an occasion for a thorough analysis of all the aspects of the moral profile of the communist, of his behavior at work, in the family and in society. The members of the party have examined, in a severe critical and self-critical spirit, not only his work but also his actions under all circumstances of everyday life, reminding him of the lofty political and moral requirements contained in the code of ethics of the party. Reference is also made to the way in which the communists educate their children. In cases where deficiencies and shortcomings have been revealed, the persons responsible have been assisted, by means of an intransigent critical attitude, but one which is also full of tact, to understand the errors which they have made and the road which they must take to eliminate them.

Question: What is the current status of operations connected with the exchange of documents and how could we define the climate which this activity is generating in the life of party organizations?

Popa: In our committee the general meetings for drawing conclusions from the individual conversations are in full swing.

Balan: An atmosphere of high responsibility has characterized the general meetings which have taken place so far in Timisoara Municipality.

CSO: 2700

LACK OF WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT JOBS IN BIHOR LAMENTED

Bucharest SCINTELA in Romanian 23 Mar 80 p 2

[Interview with Maria Ghiuca by Victor Birladeanu: "The Promotion of Women in Positions of Leadership--An Objective Requirement of Life, of Contemporary Realities"]

[Excerpts] A conversation on this subject shows that in Bihor County, good initiatives are in competition with inertia and prejudice. Comrade Maria Ghiuca represents an eloquent illustration of the party policy of promoting women, on the basis of their capacity and worth, to positions of increased responsibility. The former miner from Baita passed through the various stages of work as an activist, combining, not without great effort, the daily practical activity of the management and education of people with political and ideological training in schools and party courses and with the exemplary execution of family duties as a wife and mother. This is why her promotion to the position of secretary of the Bihor County Party Committee, after working several years as secretary of the Oradea Municipality Party Committee, did not surprise anyone.

Question: Please describe for us the dimensions of the concern of the party for the promotion of women.

Answer: It is an indisputable truth that the years of socialism--especially the last 15 years, the most fruitful period in the history of the country--coincide with the most brilliant moment of the multiple affirmation of women in the professional, political and social spheres. Today, women feel that they are complete participants in social life and, at the same time, are invested with a high social responsibility. In our county [Bihor] about 350 women have been appointed to positions of responsibility in recent years, in industry, transportation, construction, trade and agriculture. The figure might seem to be satisfactory but, if we go beyond the overall aspect, we find that only three women have been appointed to positions as directors.

Question: Have you taken into consideration the number and the role of women in the economy of the county as a whole?

Answer: If I were to restrict myself to industry, I would mention that there are about 40,000 women in the total number of 93,000 workers in our county. From this point of view, in my opinion, the number of women directors is unallowably low. In agriculture, where women make up most of the work force, only five of the agricultural production cooperative chairmen are women.

Question: We saw a healthy man behind the counter of a shop, sitting on a comfortable chair, snoozing away. They told us that he was the head of the unit. The "rest" of the employees, all women, were working hard.

Answer: This is not the only case in the trade units, the public catering units and the handicraft cooperatives both here in Oradea and in other localities in the county. In addition, we cannot disregard the fact that the situation of admission to the party in these sectors is no better; the percentage of women in the ranks of the new party members is smaller than the county average.

Question: How can these situations be explained?

Answer: Of course, we cannot deny that there is a certain resistance on the part of some men who hold positions of leadership in the fields mentioned. But it is a good idea to view the situation clearly: there are also cases where women are not convinced--although many have the necessary professional training--that they can perform management functions which require quite a bit of mental effort. A psychological factor which should not be underestimated plays a role in this matter: some of our female comrades think that if they are promoted to positions of responsibility, problems might arise for their reputation or their family life. In regard to the elections for the new party committees and bureaus which took place last year, this fear was not without justification: there was talk about the comrades promoted to the position of secretary of the basic organizations and party committees in the trade system--even on the part of their female colleagues--that the promotion was not based on objective criteria but on the fact that the respective colleague was young and beautiful--all sorts of denigrating remarks which, unfortunately, still sadden our life on such occasions. Why don't these suppositions and allusions make their appearance in the case of the promotion of a young and handsome man and why is it regarded as normal for men to be late for meetings?

Question: Perhaps your question requires a response on the political and educational activity level.

Answer: Of course, we still have very much to do in this area. It is a matter, basically, of a change, not only of attitudes but also of the mentalities which generate them. In addition, our county party committee and the municipal, city and commune committees propose to carry on an intense political and educational activity directed toward the uprooting of prejudices which still exist in regard to the capabilities and competencies, present or potential, of women.

Question: Since you mentioned the promotion of a number of women as secretaries of party organizations, please tell us how this activity is progressing.

Answer: The situation has improved considerably, especially during the past 2 or 3 years, as a result of the firm guidelines given by the secretary general of the party and of the strict way in which they were carried out. In this regard, the figures are the best proof of this; the fact that 33 percent of the members of the commune, city, municipality and county party committees, 21 percent of the secretaries and 33 percent of the deputy secretaries of the basic organizations are women speaks for itself, in my opinion. Also, in the recent elections, 664 women were elected to different representative levels of our democracy--from the communal peoples councils to the Grand National Assembly. The fact that in our county party committee, three secretaries are women is another graphic example. Unfortunately, this concern has not always been reflected in a permanent long-range outlook.

Question: What is being done for the political and professional training of women in the county, especially of the communists?

Answer: During recent years, 125 women attended party schools and courses, including retraining courses. However, the situation in regard to "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy is not satisfactory. Only 12 women [from Bihor?] have graduated from the academy and five are studying there at present. We must concentrate more attention in this area. We are convinced that Bihor County has many women workers, good communists, with a high party-minded awareness, who are capable of taking courses in higher party schools. We must get to know them better and direct them with more perseverance to political-ideological higher education as an indispensable requirement for their promotion to positions of leadership in party, state and economic activity.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

SHORTCOMINGS OF HEALTH SERVICE DISCUSSED BY MINISTER

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 29, 30 Jan 80

[Two part interview with Prof Dr Eugen Proca, minister of health, by Ioana Patrascu]

[29 Jan 80, pp 1, 5]

[Text] [Question] In summing up the year 1979, what do you think is the creditable accomplishment in health service?

[Answer] For all of us who were allotted the task of implementing the party's health policy, of ensuring the smooth development of all medical activity, the year 1979 -- one of great and outstanding events and primarily, of the 12th Party Congress that outlined the future and progress of Romania tomorrow -- provided much gratification in our field of activity as well. This gratification is measurable because, reflected in figures and percentage, it indicates a better condition of health for all the people. I would like to point out from the outset that this was made possible primarily by the better material and spiritual conditions of all the people, to which, of course, is added the very devoted work of health workers.

In 1979, our programs were better organized and had contents which were clearer, more realistic and closely tied in to the real and immediate needs of the population. The sum-up which you mentioned, of course, the positive sum-up, I see it in the further improvement of some health and demographic indicators, including the general mortality rate, which was half the rate for the year 1938, the infant death rate which decreased by a factor of almost 7, a rate which practically was the lowest in Romania's history. The year 1979 saw the further spectacular dwindling in the morbidity rate for some diseases which in the old days were frightening and took thousands of human lives. These diseases included tuberculosis or the disease of the poor,

as it used to be described. Good results were obtained in preventing and combating other transmissible diseases and the morbidity involved today is among the lowest. Moreover, I would like to point out the significant decline in temporary work disability and absences from work because of illness, the expanded programs for prevention of diseases, and the firmer combating of the health risk factors. The year 1979 also was a good year in terms of epidemiological efforts and I consider it as remarkable for the rather small number of contagious or digestive diseases.

[Question] What do you think are shortcomings in this field?

[Answer] To the results mentioned above I would add some chronic shortcomings: failure to actively adjust to the health network requirements; inconsistency in uniformly implementing the health programs at all levels; failure to disseminate special methods and techniques in diagnosing and treating chief ailments; inadequate utilization of the material base and staff; the fact that the ministry apparatus in some respects still is the prisoner of red tape, we must admit it. Moreover, there was failure to act firmly against some negative phenomena in health service, in medical assistance and research, where there still are cases of violations of rules and principles of medical ethics. Though the Ministry of Health has continued to tailor its organizational structure and capacity to implementing the ever more important tasks allotted, we still make insufficient use of resources.

[Question] How about you, in your capacity of minister?

[Answer] In my present position I would reproach myself for not having accelerated the rate of eliminating these deficiencies and for not having generated the greater utilization of collective efforts and wisdom, stimulation of renewing ideas and initiatives, which deserve to be disseminated in our work. Knowledge of health phenomena and specific matters on the territory, although showing progress in 1979, still is not satisfactory and must absolutely be improved and expanded, even beginning with the leading body of the ministry. I do not advocate tourist trips, which still occur, but a concrete and efficient activity of guidance and supervision, with prompt measures when needed. Of course, all this is a priority on the agenda of the first months in 1980.

[Question] How do you assess the activity of the ministry's own apparatus?

[Answer] In other words, what could I reproach to the apparatus of the Ministry of Health? Many things. In the first place, clinging to old formulas, when it has become very clear that our current medical-health realities no longer can be handled by methods from previous decades; some kind of hesitancy in adopting new

approaches which are more effective and more cost-effective; decisions made from the office, which do not conform to realities. Of course, these deficiencies were more marked at the beginning of 1979, but when we identify them, we must find the strength to rectify them.

The apparatus of the Ministry of Health is better now, it is more experienced and adaptable. With a little effort, with perseverance and in the context of intensifying the rejuvenation process in some sectors, things can be significantly improved. And because we are discussing shortcomings, as far as I am concerned, I would reproach myself for certain approaches which involved rather emotional handling. Moreover, I believe that I did not adequately concern myself with rational nutrition for the population, with cooperation between departments and even within the department. I am behind in providing proper, cost-effective approaches for health service. Of course, there also are other things, but I listed only those in whose solution I could be more instrumental for achieving the qualitative, decisive leap in our medical sector.

Question Do you feel that the ministry's apparatus is adequately mobile and receptive to new developments?

Answer Not in an adequate degree. The ministry receives many proposals and ideas from very diversified sources. All of them are sorted out by a commission of experts and specialists of the Academy of Medical Sciences that selects what is valuable, even if at the beginning it seems not to have practical ramifications. Subsequently, the ideas which were accepted are subjected to rigorous objective, experimental verification and only after it has proved its efficiency and innocuousness, the method involved acquires the legal right to applicability. We cannot proceed differently because nothing, the law, ethics, or the medical code, allows us to imperil the health of people.

Not all that is new confirms its value. Every scientific worker clearly knows that one proceeds from a work hypothesis, then builds an experimental model, which must reproduce the parameters of the initial hypothesis under diverse conditions and only after this verification one proceeds to practical application.

Question Please allow us to dwell on this question, because, as is known, the matter of promoting new developments is of great importance. The party secretary general has repeatedly emphasized its significance and, of course, the requirements which are valid for all our society must also underlie the activity of the Ministry of Health. We would even state that in the medical field the promotion of new developments has even greater ramifications, because it is a matter of human life, of people's health. In these cases, skepticism, the labyrinth of formalism or professional envy may mean less years, life for some of our peers. We query how a

procedure could be established which would no longer permit any delay or waste of valuable ideas? What added efforts should the Ministry of Health make to provide clear, prompt and well-founded answers and, of course, support for any hope, to people with ideas? Certainly, not every idea means a discovery, and illusion must be carefully separated from certitude, but it would neither be normal to think that only others can make great discoveries, when reality has so many times belied this painful prejudice which we still find sometimes, in a more or less explicit manner. You, as a professor with a vast and prestigious experience, are better aware than we are that Romanian physicians have no reasons for having complexes in scientific work, quite the opposite. Is it not your view that some inertia and, perhaps professional envy or other older deficiencies hampered the assertion of innovation? And what do you plan to do to remedy this situation, in other words, to make sure that no chance is cancelled?

[Answer] I fully agree with you that new and prompt methods must be found to select all the new ideas and suggestions sent to the Ministry of Health. All agree that in biology, hence in medicine, verification of new developments requires far longer time than in technology, because first we need laboratory tests, then application on small clinical groups and only when innocuousness has been certified, the waiting period, the so-called "time-test" follows. All the medical world recognizes that a period of approximately 10 years goes by between the suggestion of a new treatment and its dissemination, for the purpose of really proving its value. I point out that any concession we may make to scientific seriousness and control of the methodology proposed means more than a matter of professional conscience and medical ethics, it means falling under our medical laws. The Ministry of Health is implementing the Council of Ministers' program for the introduction of new methods in medicine. To this end it established the necessary organizational and material framework for the initiators of these methods to find the environment propitious for testing their ideas. However, I point out that they must meet the parameters of scientific testing without which no confirmation of their proposals is possible. Eluding this strictly scientific framework -- devoid of the professional envy which you mentioned, and devoid of subjectivism -- would be harmful. Meeting all the requests for innovations now in the testing stage and providing the conditions in terms of materials and staff which the Ministry of Health has recently created attest to the ministry's concern and to the change of approach to the use of innovation.

[Question] Do you plan to provide a better organized framework for the verification, selection and promotion of valuable ideas in terms of medical treatment?

[Answer] Yes. The appointment and organization of an experimental research center of the Ministry of Health will shortly be completed. It will be provided with the material and clinical base for the rigorously scientific application of any new, promising ideas. The authors of these ideas will thus benefit from a unit where subjectivism, procrastination or even possible medical envy will be replaced by integrity, goodwill, decency and objectivity.

[Question] What do you have in mind with regard to the surgical department of the hospital where the experimental clinic is being arranged?

[Answer] The Ministry of Health has decided to establish this center, where the activity will be only experimental so that it may provide optimal opportunities for scientific research under more cost-effective conditions.

Going back to your previous question, I specify that actually, innovation in our medicine -- in my judgement -- has far greater importance. It involves the radical change in the course of medical activity, its orientation toward the healthy man and prevention, toward the better use of the natural curative factors, toward mental balance combined with physical balance, for continuous adjustment to the stress of modern life. Valuable innovation, which conforms with needs, acquires the value of circulation and is unreservedly adopted, precisely because it is necessary. The Ministry of Health pledges with full responsibility to provide all the conditions required for spurring and promoting this kind of innovation. Mobility and responsiveness to innovation must constantly focus on the duty of all of us to facilitate overall progress and, in our case, the progress of medicine in particular.

[Question] Do you also have in mind the medical research institutes?

[Answer] Yes, and I concede that some research institutes are not fully encouraging the rapid use in medical practice of all that is beneficial and useful for people; cases appear there of a special mental attitude which is curativist, sometimes encased in dogmas which are impracticable in terms of adaptation to the rapid progress of science and technology and especially the revitalization of the immense creative potential which must be channeled for enriching the scientific and technical treasure of Romanian medicine. Moreover, these matters were topics of several discussions held in 1979 within the framework of the Ministry of Health and the Academy of Medical Sciences. The year 1980 will see vigorous projects and the involvement of commissions of specialists for various areas of activity in these discussions.

It is imperative for us to focus on medical education, whose input into the training of cadres and upgrading the quality of health care must come up to expectations and requirements.

30 Jan 80, pp 1, 2

Text Question In your view, what is the most lagging health care field and what is the reason for it?

Answer It is true that in some areas of activity in health care the results are below our potentialities and categorically mean noncompletion of our job. This primarily involves the overall programs for disease prevention and concurrently the health education programs for all the people. Hence, actually prophylactic work still is a goal of our future activity, an objective toward which we must strive with full responsibility.

That is why I feel that, in the context of paying the necessary attention to the basic principle of socialist medicine -- prophylaxis -- we pledge ourselves to materialize the new, revolutionary idea of Nicolae Ceausescu on the healthy man's medicine, the medicine which is meant for all the people and specifically for those who make the material and spiritual assets of society, the collectivities, the family. In the context of general health education and culture, rational nutrition has not yet been included in the habits of every citizen as a component of a life of moderation, which ensures the preservation of work capacity and a normal and happy life for all.

Question What about the promotion of modern therapeutical methods?

Answer Unquestionably we made progress in 1979 in terms of diagnosis and treatment of some diseases, in obtaining refined and modern methods developed by the minds of our staff. Nevertheless we are dissatisfied that in a few fields in which morbidity and mortality are high we did not develop the necessary methods for diagnosis and treatment to meet the needs and requirements of the population. Primarily I have in mind cancer, some cardiovascular diseases and in the first place ischemic cardiopathy and myocardial infarction, chronic renal infections, where treatment must categorically be improved and expanded for this kind of patients.

Question What was the initial project of the medical year 1980? What was the first priority?

Answer The strengthening and diversification of preventive medicine and the medicine of the healthy man, promotion of specialized medicine and bringing this medicine closer to the points of production; combating overcrowding involving specialized care

in giant hospitals and return to smaller and more numerous hospitals; completion of full integration, both ways, but especially from health care to research and education; making superior health care cost-effective by rationalizing the investigations and avoiding overuse of tests and medication; wise utilization of the material base; encouraging the moves which involve an arrangement for the production and building of medical equipment; enhancement of the role of the physician-citizen, because human warmth cannot be replaced by any apparatus; avoidance of the imbalance that minimizes the patient and mythifies and absolutizes the equipment.

Fortifying the vigor and youthfulness of our socialist nation -- in the words of Nicolae Ceausescu in his report to the 12th Congress -- requires us to step up and upgrade all our efforts and focus them on the areas and types of diseases which radically necessitate a change in the current approaches and methodology of investigation and treatment and especially of prevention of these diseases. That is why I would like to point out here that the Law on ensuring the health of the people creates the required legal framework and provides all the organizational and technico-material conditions for taking the necessary measures on health for all. We do not have any reason for haphazardly approaching the rational utilization of the natural curative factors from which all the people must benefit. Moreover, it is not allowed that any innovating idea, that any discovery which helps to prevent diseases or cure people be regarded with reservations and be not disseminated and applied.

[Question] What does the switch to a new quality mean for health services. What should be the first step?

[Answer] The switch to a new quality in health care for us too involves full implementation of the directives given by the party secretary general. The steps taken to upgrade the professional training of graduates from medical and pharmaceutical institutes, the ever closer integration of education and research with health care, and the growing input which must be provided by the Academy of Medical Sciences and the medical facilities and centers into promoting innovation in medicine make it possible to develop a new quality of our entire activity. It will ultimately be reflected in the dwindling of general morbidity and especially morbidity caused by chronic diseases, in the further decline in the infant mortality rate, as a result of better quality of all medical services.

Undoubtedly, a new quality of health care also necessitates self-improvement, and this means that nothing is achieved without effort and endeavor, and a proof in this regard is provided by the great accomplishments of our country obtained under socialism. In medicine also, miraculous achievements cannot be obtained

without concerted efforts, without devotion and dedication of everyone on his or her job and of all together for the continuous progress of Romania, for ensuring the best possible condition of health for the people who by their heroic efforts are building a new world.

Anyway, innovation means elimination of the obsolete, with the struggle between new and old in medicine retaining its keen character. The point is to conduct this struggle in the realm of ideas, of scientific confrontations which should fully serve medicine, society, and the individual.

Question The documents of the 12th Congress specify outstanding tasks for the medical sector. In what manner will they be tackled in 1980?

Answer It is certainly important for all the objectives set by the Congress in the medical sector to be approached with full responsibility. Moreover, for their implementation we must mobilize all the health workers, all the forces and minds of the Romanian medical field. The 1980 program of the Ministry of Health gives precedence to preventive medicine, to the fight for preventing morbidity in all sections of the population. We shall step up the activity of the medical research institutes because only together with these factors we shall devise the best scientific approaches to complete our assignments and specifically to develop modern and effective methods in preventing and treating diseases which pose problems in our society today. In the context of these two priorities, which involve one goal -- ensuring the health of all the people -- there will be no room for attitudes of permissiveness, indiscipline or violation of socialist ethics and equity, negative phenomena which -- we must admit it -- are still found in the health sector.

Question What do you think are Romania's key medical branches, what are their chances of development, and what will be the Ministry of Health input into promoting them?

Answer I am answering this question in a manner which, perhaps, you do not expect. When it is a matter of the individual and the individual's health there is no key branch or minor activity or an activity which is not of special importance in the fight for life. Therefore, all the projects and all the activities which we are conducting, either involving prevention of diseases, treatment or recovery of patients, have identical importance and any minimizing of the medical effort in its complexity may create difficulties in this process. We pay the necessary attention to providing the required conditions for some ailments which not even on a world scale have found complete solutions. That is why, based on the directives given by the party secretary general, we shall

expand and modernize the bases for treating cancerous, cardiovascular, and renal diseases. Within the framework of these concerns, special emphasis will be placed on recovery for all kinds of patients and, of course, transplantation of organs and tissues -- an old and constantly topical goal of medicine in all times.

In this area, also, the Ministry of Health has been allotted very complex tasks. We let time speak about this solemn pledge we are taking at a point when the historic decisions adopted by the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party begin to take shape and to be implemented.

11710
CSO: 2700

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO GUYANA--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Petrachi Danila is recalled from his position as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the Cooperative Republic of Guyana and Comrade Marin Argint is accredited as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, with residence in Caracas. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 21, 10 Mar 80 p 3]

AMBASSADOR TO TRINIDAD-TOBAGO--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Petrachi Danila is recalled from his position as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the Republic of Trinidad-Tobago and Comrade Marin Argint is accredited as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the Republic of Trinidad-Tobago, with residence in Caracas. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 21, 10 Mar 80 p 3]

MARINE RESEARCH INSTITUTE--The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that as of the date of the present decree, the Romanian Institute for Marine Research, subordinate to the National Council for Science and Technology, becomes a component of the Central Institute for Biology, subordinate to the Ministry of Education and Instruction. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 20, 8 Mar 80 p 1]

AMBASSADOR TO SRI LANKA--Sri Lanka's President Junius Richard Jayewardene received Romanian Ambassador Dumitru Niculescu, who presented a message from Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu. [AU261154 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 25 Mar 80 AU]

CSO: 2700

FORMATION OF CROATIAN SAWP COUNCIL ON RELIGIOUS QUESTIONS STIRS POLEMICS

[Editorial Report] GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian on 27 January 1980 on page 2 publishes a letter to the editor by a reader (signed S.V.S.), in which the reader criticizes a VJESNIK (14 Jan 80 p 2) commentary by Nenad Ivankovic. In the commentary Ivankovic discusses the recent formation of the Council of the Republic Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Croatia for social religious questions and activities of religious communities. The reader objects to the Ivankovic's statements in which he urges "all public officials and especially the Socialist Alliance to fight persistently against any attempt to divide citizens according to their ideological, religious and other differences by supporting a restrictive line in which only the political relations of individuals toward our non-aligned and self-management community is valid."

The reader asks whether the formation of this council did not precisely introduce a division among the believers and non-believers: "Because the purpose of this council is not to be concerned with the theological questions, but it will surely concern itself with the behavior of the believers toward our socialist community, while such a council does not exist for non-believers, a fact which may lead many people to conclude that believers are less dedicated to the self-management socialism than the non-believers. Maybe Nenad Ivankovic will say that individual believers are misusing religion for anti-socialist purposes, which is possible. But, atheism is also being misused, even more obviously, for anti-socialist purposes, when it becomes a condition for advancement of non-believers in occupying responsible positions in society which are not accessible to the believers, who lack 'moral-political suitability,' regardless of how much they might be devoted to the socialism..." The reader suggests that if it is the task of the Socialist Alliance 'to persistently fight against any attempt to divide citizens according to their ideological, religious and other differences,' then it would have been more advisable to form, instead of the council for religious questions, a council which would concern itself with questions of equality of all the citizens regardless of their religious or atheistic orientation." Nenad Ivankovic reacts to this letter in VJESNIK of 7 March 1980 on page 4, in an article entitled "Ideological Food for the Naive." In referring to the letter of the reader he says that it would not serve any attention had it not been at the same time "a particular kind of slander, put into the circulation in order to affirm the

well-known stands of GLAS KONCILA." Nenad Ivankovic explains the reason why the reader is against this council: "...he knows that the formation of the council will speed up a wider inclusion of believers into the Socialist Alliance, and, in this organization of theirs, they can agree in an organized way on satisfying their own needs (including also the religious ones) so that they may participate as actively as possible in the building of this society." Ivankovic writes that the reader is really not against the division of citizens into believers and non-believers because "he makes a living from this division, he invented it himself without any social justification (GLAS KONCILA from one issue to another eloquently testifies to this)." In Ivankovic's opinion attempts to impose such a division are a way for "some groups and individuals, who cannot yet accept the idea of religion as specified in the Constitution, to strive to acquire political prerogatives for the church."

CSO: 2800

'WEAKNESSES' IN EDUCATIONAL REFORM PROGRAM IN KOSOVO

Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 13 Feb 80 p 7

[Excerpts] Production work as the form and content of work education and polytechnical education provides an important trait to the reformed intermediate school. Most schools which are fulfilling this task are in accord with established goals and tasks; but there are also those which are not achieving the desired results. The most frequent causes for weaknesses are the lack of workshop equipment, the lack of teachers, and the limited possibility for realizing that part of the program to be carried out in OURs (organization of associated work).

Proceeding from the significance and complexity of the task set in the second phase of the intermediate goal-directed education which provides the specialized knowledge for specific vocations, for further education, self-education, professional completion, and education along with work and arising out of work, the Province has started to realize this phase and to create the necessary conditions for applying the new program.... Considering that the final phase of this education is the hardest part of the reform, several weaknesses appeared at the time of this year's registration of students in the third level of the intermediate goal-directed education. Student registration in the second phase in many ways represents the decisive moment in which individual desires, needs, and interests are confronted with social needs and the realistic possibilities. In preparing for the final phase there has not been enough attention devoted to this question, because there has been strong pressure by students in certain specialities and professions and inadequate response to professions which are needed now and in the future economic and social development of the province. One must devote more attention to this question in order to achieve better coordination between individual and social interests; all the more so since there exists the traditional understanding on the part of parents in regard to certain [i.e., white-collar] professions.

CSO: 2800

ERRATUM: This is a corrected version of article which appeared in JPRS 75191, 22 February 1980, of this series pp 78, 79.

BORDER CROSSING POINTS SPECIFIED

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 56, 9 Nov 79 p 1737

[Text] For the crossing of state boundaries, permanent border crossing points have been established for international traffic, viz.,

- a) border crossing points for international maritime traffic: Koper, Piran, Umag, Porec, Rovinj, Pula, Rasa, Rijeka, Senj, Mali Losinj, Maslenica, Zadar, Sibenik, Split, Korcula, Ploce, Meckovic, Dubrovnik, Herceg-Noví, and Bar;
- b) border crossings for international river traffic: Bezdan, Apatin, Vukovar, Novi Sad, Beograd, Veliko Gradiste, Tekija, Kladovo, Prahovo, Osijek and Kanjiza;
- c) border crossings for international air traffic: Surcin-Beograd, Pleso-Zagreb, Cilipa-Dubrovnik, Kastel-Stafilic-Split, Zadar, Omisalj-Rijeka, Pula, Brnik-Ljubljana, Golubovca-Titograd, Tivat, Sarajevo, Petrovec-Skopje, Ohrid, and Maribor;
- d) border crossings for international rail traffic: Sezana, Dutovljen, and Nova Gorica--for areas that border the Republic of Italy; Jesenice, Prevalje and Maribor--for areas that border Austria; Kotoriba, Koprivnica, Beli Manastir, Subotica and Horgos--for areas that border the Hungarian Peoples' Republic; Kikinda and Vrsac--for areas that border the Socialist Republic of Romania; Dimitrovgrad, for areas that border the Peoples' Republic of Bulgaria and Gevgelija and Kremenica--for areas that border the Republic of Greece;
- e) border crossings for international motor vehicle traffic: Lazaret, Skofije, Kozina, Fernetici, Nova Gorica, Uceja, Robic, Predel, and Ratece, for areas that border the Republic of Italy; Korensko Sedlo, Ljubelj, Jezersko, Holmec, Vic, Radlje, Jurij, Sentilj, Trate, Gornja Radgona, Gederovci and Kuzma--in those areas that border the Republic of Austria; Hodos, Dolga Vas, Gorican, Terezino Polje, Donji Miholjac, Knezevo, Backi Breg, Kelebija and Horgos--in those areas that border the Hungarian Peoples' Republic; Srpska Crnja, Vatin, Kaluderovo and Derdap--in those areas that border the Socialist Republic of Romania; Mokranje, Vrska Cuka, Gradina,

Strežimirovci, Ribarci, Deve Bair, Delcevo and Novo Selo--in those areas that border the People's Republic of Bulgaria; Bogorodica and Medžitlija--in those areas that border the Republic of Greece; Čafa San, Vrbnica, Čafa Prusit and Bozaj--in those areas that border the Peoples' Socialist Republic of Albania.

2. On the day when this resolution takes effect, the Resolution concerning the establishment of a permanent border crossing at Metkovic for international maritime traffic (SLUŽBENI LIST SFRJ, no. 25/79) and the Resolution concerning the establishment of permanent border crossings at Radlje, Jurič, Trate and Gederovci for international motor vehicle traffic (SLUŽBENI LIST SFRJ, no 30/79) will cease to be valid.

3. This Resolution takes effect on the eighth day after its promulgation in SLUŽBENI LIST SFRJ.

Beograd, 1 November 1979

The Federal Executive Committee

Branislav Ikonić, V.P.

Vice-president

9412

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

PASSIVE PARTY MEMBERS--The activity of members of basic LC organizations in four republics (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, and Slovenia) was surveyed. While numbers vary, the conclusion of all the surveyers was the same: LC membership is divided into an active minority and passive majority. In Serbia for instance, 45 percent of the members did not ask to speak at any LC basic organization meeting during the year, while three-quarters held no function in socio-political or other organizations. In Macedonia the survey showed that most members' activity consisted simply of participating in discussion. [Wxcerpt] [Belgrade RAD in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 80 p 14]

CROATIAN LC ON VRANICKI'S BOOK--[Editorial Report] The December 1979 issue of the Zagreb monthly journal NASE TEME, published by the Croatian LC Central Committee Center for Ideological-Theoretical Work, publishes speeches and comments by 18 participants in the Center's meeting held 14 November 1979 to discuss Predrag Vranicki's work, "Marxism and Socialism." Judging from these statements (which included also comments by Vranicki himself), it was a theoretical discussion with only mild criticism and considerable praise, in contrast to the article critical of Vranicki and his book which the LCY weekly KOMUNIST carried in August of 1979.

CROATIAN WRITER RELEASED--Croatian writer Zlatko Tomicic who has a serious heart condition has been provisionally released, for health reasons, from a prison near Rijeka where he had been imprisoned since 23 January 1980. Tomicic continues to be under indictment because of work written about his life in a labor camp between 1973 and 1975. [Text] [Bonn DIE WELT in German 11 Mar 80 p 7]

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END

SELECTIVE LIST OF JPRS SERIAL REPORTS

EASTERN EUROPE SERIAL REPORTS

EAST EUROPE REPORT: Economic and Industrial Affairs
EAST EUROPE REPORT: Political, Sociological and Military Affairs
EAST EUROPE REPORT: Scientific Affairs

WORLDWIDE SERIAL REPORTS

WORLDWIDE REPORT: Environmental Quality
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Epidemiology
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Law of the Sea
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Nuclear Development and Proliferation
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Telecommunications Policy, Research and Development

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